FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLISH DELEGATE SPEAKS AT DISARMAMENT SESSION

LD130346 Warsaw PAP in English 0245 GMT 13 Feb 81

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Wankowicz]

[Text] Geneva, 12 Feb (PAP)--A successive plenary meeting of the Disarmament Committee attended by delegations of 40 states was held here today. Poland's representative, Ambassador Bogumil Sujka, took the floor at the meeting.

Saying that the arms race and permanent expanding of nuclear arsenals pose now the greatest danger to security and peace worldwide, the speaker stressed Poland's interest in deepening the process of detente which should be accompanied by efforts to promote disarmament.

In view of the existing strategic balance, the necessity of seeking equilibrium between common sense and responsibility becomes an important issue. In this context, the speaker stressed the topicality of the proposal to convene in Warsaw a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, put forth by Poland in Madrid.

Later, Poland's delegate discussed problems and tasks of the working groups revived by the Disarmament Committee this year. These groups are working on the ban on chemical and radiological weapons, developing a comprehensive programme for disarmament in the coming years and on preparing the principles guaranteeing security for the states not having nuclear weapons. Saying that numerous disarmament proposals put forth by socialist countries at the Disarmament Committee stress the leading role of the Warsaw Treaty states in the world efforts to halt the arms race and to attain disarmament, the speaker stressed that Poland invariably voiced her deep solidarity with the USSR and the remaining states of the socialist community.

HUNGARIAN ENVOY ADDRESSES DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE

LD130002 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Geneva, 12 Feb (MTI)--The Thursday plenary session of the Disarmament Committee was addressed by Dr Imre Komoves, Hungary's permanent UN envoy in Geneva. He explained that the prevailing international situation is the direct consequence of the imperialist policy which disregards the principle of balance and parity and strives for military ascendency. He condemned the armament plans of NATO which aim at the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe. Attaching high import to the Madrid meeting, the Hungarian envoy expressed the hope that an agreement will be reached on convening a conference to handle the questions of European military detente and disarmament.

While discussing the tasks of the committee, the Hungarian ambassador devoted special space to the question of nuclear disarmament, urging ratification by the US of SALT II and the setting up of a working group to handle questions of a complete ban on nuclear tests and of nuclear disarmament.

Endorsing the joint proposal of the socialist countries, Dr Komoves suggested that the committee appoint a working group to deal with the practical questions of a ban on the deployment of nuclear arms on the territory of countries which do not have such weapons at present. He suggested also that the committee lay more weight on the question of banning the new-type mass destruction weapons. He called disquieting the statements of the new American administration on renewal of the production and deployment of the neutron bomb. In this context he underlined the importance of the draft agreement tabled by the socialist delegations in 1978 on prohibition of the production and installation of the neutron weapon. The Hungarian envoy stressed that it is necessary (?that) the committee work out yet this year a draft agreement on the prohibition of radiological weapon.

GDR'S LEUSCHNER REPORTS ON CSCE FOLLOWUP CONFERENCE

DW121532 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1545 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Guenter Leuschner Madrid report]

[Text] It is still impossible to say how many of the roughly 90 suggestions will eventually be included in the final [CSCE] document. What these decisions will be like, whether or what results will be achieved are questions that still cannot be answered 4 weeks prior to the planned end of the conference. The closing date, however, certainly cannot be kept. Why is that?

Following the Christmas recess the socialist countries thoroughly outlined their suggestions on all parts of the final document. A European disarmament conference, the development of confidence-building measures, all-European cooperation in the energy sector, elimination of trade barriers, the request addressed to all states to join the human rights conventions, the suggestion to incorporate the 10 principles of European security into constitutions, more cooperation in the educational field, all this--just to name a few examples--has hardly caused objective counterarguments.

We have made our readiness to compromise, to seriously examine everything that could help detente, so clear that one must be deaf to ignore it. Most of the 35 countries represented here, despite all the differences with regard to modalities, have reacted positively to the core problem of Madrid--the convocation of a European disarmament conference. There cannot be any doubt with regard to the honesty of the neutral and nonaligned states' interest in the success of this conference.

However, some diplomats from nonsocialist countries speak of some sort of deadlock that has been reached and that must be overcome. Why?

First of all, nobody is in a position to justify this concerned opinion when it comes to the stance of the socialist countries. Some, however, clearly point to the United States. Washington's representatives indeed leave the impression that they do not want to have a result if possible. In all these weeks they have not once said whether they would approve of a European disarmament conference, not even as regards the French suggestion. They have already prepared a retreat position if this silence proves impossible to maintain. Some NATO states help in this regard. With almost ultimatum-like prerequisites that only their own suggestions be discussed, with categorical demands violating the final document and aimed at upsetting the military balance, they create the suspicion that they want to force their will on others.

In dozens of sessions these NATO states have not once even indicated the will to seriously discuss the suggestions of socialist and neutral countries on a European disarmament conference. Instead so-called packages are being prepared indicating that they want to intentionally link the adoption of important suggestions acceptable to all with issues they know cannot be approved at all.

These tactics complicate the beginning of drafting work very much. They would not have been necessary if the NATO representatives had exploited the connections which exist, for example in the various suggestions on military detente, and had examined them for opportunities for compromise, or if they had said yes instead of being evasive on such issues where agreement could easily have been achieved, such as on a European energy conference.

But much time has been lost through unnecessary tactical moves. In the long run one cannot evade decisions anyway, and particularly not when formulation work begins. This will be the case as of tomorrow.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO ON U.S. 'HELP' TO POLAND

AU121636 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Feb 81 p 7

[Article by New York correspondent Georgi Todorchev: "The Goals of So-Called 'Assistance'"]

[Text] There is no end to the torrent of so-called "information," "analyses" and "recommendations" devoted to the situation in Poland that the U.S. monopolies' mass media, engaged in manipulating public opinion, are constantly providing. Hidden insinuations, overt slander, and numerous "well-meaning suggestions" do not seem to stop. We are, actually, facing a genuine, heavily concentrated and well-coordinated political and psychological campaign directed against socialist Poland and against real socialism.

Wherever you look, immediate examples are at hand. Thus, the New York TIMES, for example, carried in its columns reserved for analyses and commentaries, an article by William Safire, a well-known conservative observer who used to be President Nixon's ghost-writer and who now belongs to a notorious reactionary brain trust serving highly placed Republican circles.

Safire asks the following rhetorical question at the beginning of his article: How can the West help the Polish workers "win more freedom?" after having exhausted his own "suggestions" about "possible intervention in Poland," envisaging even a "partisan struggle," after having presented insinuations about intensifying the "workers" struggle against "Polish citizens loyal to the regime," the author becomes more precise in referring to the West's interference, and by the United States in particular, in assisting the "free Polish workers." Safire states as follows in this connection: "At the most ordinary level the Polish workers can get what he has already begun to receive from the AFL-CIO--namely rudimentary communications equipment." Safire also enumerates part of the equipment which certain leading circles of the U.S. trade unions are supplying to the Solidarity trade union and calls it "necessary for organizational activities." This equipment includes typewriters, copying machines, and printing equipment. In connection with the delivery of printing equipment, Tom Cahn, one of the AFL-CIA leading officials, expressed "regret" that some of the propaganda materials of this organization are "illegible," or published in "mimeographed editions." The assistant to the AFL-CIO president declared as follows: "We will not turn our backs on the Polish workers" because it would mean "to abandon them to the hands of tyranny."

It is hardly necessary to mention certain facts expressing this kind of "concern" and "assistance" on the part of the reactionary upper crust of certain American trade union organizations, under the leadership of Lane Kirkland, who is George Meany's successor. Several years ago George Morris, an American trade union leader, wrote a book which was translated in our country. This book describes the manner in which the CIA is using the U.S. trade unions to promote subversive activities abroad. The four so-called "American Institutes for Free Trade Unions" in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe are still receiving many millions of subsidies from the U.S. "International Development Administration." Only a month ago, George Morris issued a new publication in which he pointed out that the European AFL-CIA Institute, which is based in Spain and Portugal and was created in 1978, just like the other three institutes based on the other continents, "is serving as a CIA cover abroad." George Morris notes that the programs for the "destabilization" of the socialist system are being intensified. "The U.S. administration and the CIA consider it actually necessary to observe the worker's approach in dealing with Poland because it is a country ruled by a workers and peasants' government. In doing so they are heavily relying upon the international department of the AFL-CIO which has actually been acting as subdepartment of the CIA since the end of World War II," George Morris notes, in his article, entitled "Support To Strikes in Poland--a Well-Known CIA Tactic."

"Assistance to Polish strikers from monopolist circles--from Carter and Reagan, from the U.S trade union leaders--this is nothing by hypocrisy," Gus Hall, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, stated in the periodical POLITICAL AFFAIRS. "These people have never supported a strike in the United States, or in any other capitalist country," Gus Hall adds.

Edmund Muskie, former U.S. secretary of state had a peculiar way of admitting interference in Polish domestic affairs through the AFL-CIO. He did so during a luncheon with Lane Kirkland, last fall, in expressing concern that such actions of the AFL-CIO might be considered provocative. The former head of the State Department was forced to admit that the style of the special AFL-CIO bulletin published in Polish sounds "rather provocative." The bulletin, called NEWS FROM THE FREE TRADE UNIONS, is being sent to Poland and distributed there in thousands of copies.

As a matter of fact, Mr Safire himself proposes in his aforementioned article prompt creation of a "group for Polish action with our allies," which should convince "the Polish worker that he is not alone," and should take action proving that the "interests of the workers and those of the communist party are not identical..."

Is this not one of the main targets of the United States by sending "copying" and "communications" equipment to Poland--namely to aid the evolution of Solidarity in Poland into an antisocialist political force, into a destructive weapon directed against real socialism in this country?

BCP DAILY CRITICIZES HAIG STATEMENT ON TERRORISM

AU111000 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 11 Feb 81

["Smoke-Curtaining the Aggressive Course"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 11 Feb (BTA)--A signed commentary in RABOTNICHESKO DELO in connection with Haig's allegations that the Soviet Union "is encouraging terrorism" reads in part: "Obviously, it is not the nonexisting Soviet encouragement of terrorism that enrages Haig. There is something else. It is the peoples' struggle for national liberation, for independence and sovereignty of their newly-liberated countries."

"As far as 'the training of Palestinian guerrillas' is concerned, it is hard to believe that any sober-thinking person will yield to the primitive and long ago unmasked moves of certain circles in the West to see 'the hand of Moscow' everywhere, especially when it serves their purposes," writes the news analyst. And what is more, it is not difficult to understand the essence of the question that Haig is shrinking from calling with its proper name--that the people of Palestine are leading a just and legitimate struggle for the liberation of its fatherland, for founding a sovereign state of its own."

Noting that Haig is slandering the Soviet Union as a patron of terrorism, the state which actually sympathizes and supports the sacred struggle for liberation of the enslaved peoples, the news analyst points out that the national liberation movement of the people is historically grounded.

This objective process was neither created nor could have been created by Moscow as the United States and the CIA could not stop or reverse it. But this fact is well known to the U.S. leaders, who have experience of their own to this end, Haig not excluded, who took part in the intervention against the Vietnamese people," the commentary reads further.

Quoting a strong of plots, coups, assassinations, etc. used by the U.S. as leverage in its foreign policy called "the defence of the vital interests of the U.S.", who 'considerately' shrink from calling it with its proper name, the author notes: "And it is actually terrorism on global scale, encroachment on the human rights of whole nations."

SOVIET INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EXPERTS ON VISIT

AU121413 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretary, yesterday received a group of Soviet international affairs experts who are visiting our country at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada, M.A. Khrustalyov, A.A. Zlobin, A.A. Kokoshin, and B.B. Lukov.

The meeting was attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by high-ranking officials of the BCP Central Committee.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY HUNGARY'S LAZAR

Talks Begin

AU121545 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] The official talks between Chairman of the Council of Ministers Stanko Todorov and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, have begun in Sofia.

On the Bulgarian side Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, attended.

On the Hungarian side Minister of Foreign Trade Peter Veress and Janos Nagy, secretary of state for foreign affairs, attended.

Issues pertaining to the further development of friendly relations between the two countries were discussed.

Trade Cooperation Talks

AU121945 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 12 Feb (BTA)--Bulgaro-Hungarian relations were highly assessed today by Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Gyorgy Lazar, prime ministers of the two countries.

It was noted at the ensuing official talks that during the last five-year period the trade between the two countries has developed at accelerated rates and has almost doubled in comparison with the previous five-year period. The proportion of the specialized and industrial-joint production has reached 30 percent. The two parties to the talks pointed that the volume of bilateral trade is intended to grow further in the new five-year period.

Mr Gyorgy Lazar said, that the trade growth between Hungary and Bulgaria will be the highest as compared with that of the other socialist countries. Special attention will be paid to the specialized and industrial joint production.

Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Gyorgy Lazar expressed their concern over the aggravation of international situation and the attempts of the reactionary forces to reverse the world to the years of the "cold war". They underlined the coordinated line of the socialist community countries on the international arena, aimed at continuing the process of detente.

In a cordial and friendly atmosphere the two countries' leaders exchanged information on a wide scale on the issues (?held) by Bulgaria and Hungary.

Gyorgy Lazar informed of the active preparations of the Hungarian people for the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of Bulgaria and of the work done to make the Hungarian people acquainted with the preparation of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

SFRY TRADE UNION DELEGATION CONCLUDES TALKS

AU121605 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] At the invitation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, a delegation of the Council of Federal Trade Unions of Yugoslavia led by Council President Miran Potrc paid an official visit to Bulgaria from 9 to 12 February. The delegation of the Federal Trade Unions of Yugoslavia was received by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The delegation also met and had talks with a Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council delegation led by Chairman of the Central Council Misho Mishev.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, the delegations briefed each other about the role of the trade unions in the two countries and on the systems and methods employed by the two trade unions in mobilizing the working people to participate in building socialism. The delegations discussed the successes achieved in developing their constant cooperation and also exchanged views on certain current issues of the international trade union movement.

In the spirit of the talks held, a cooperation plan for 1981 was adopted which provides for further deepening the friendship between the working people and between the trade unions of the two countries.

Potrc Statement

AU122008 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] The delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia headed by Miran Potrc, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions, had concluded its 4-day official visit to the Bulgarian trade unions. Concluding the visit, Miran Potrc said in his statement to a TANJUG correspondent in Sofia that the talks with the Bulgarian colleagues were held in an open and constructive spirit and in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. The two sides noted with satisfaction the development of cooperation between the trade unions and the individual cities and work organizations of the two countries and expressed their mutual readiness to further expand their relations.

During the visit Miran Potrc informed his colleague Mishev and members of the Bulgarian delegation about the past development of the self-management in our country and the preparations for the forthcoming congress of self-managers. Miran Potrc said, among other things, that during the visit certain open problems were also discussed and that both sides concluded that these problems should not be an obstacle to further developing cooperation.

Todor Zhivkov, head of the Bulgarian state and party, received the delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia.

STATE COUNCIL AWARDS USSR'S VASILIY KUZNETSOV

AU112020 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Text] The State Council has issued a decree presenting the Georgi Dimitrov order to Vasiliy Kuznetsov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for his services and contribution to developing and deepening the cooperation and bringing closer together the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, between the Bulgarian and the Soviet peoples and on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

STROUGAL HOLDS TALKS WITH USSR'S ARKHIPOV

LD122258 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Prague, 12 Feb (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Soviet First Deputy Premier Ivan Arkhipov, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia, discussed here on Thursday possibilities of promoting cooperation between their countries.

They spoke especially about broader cooperation and specialization in production which benefits both countries and respects their long-term requirements.

Lubomir Strougal informed his guest about the main tasks of the 1981-1985 five-year economic plan being prepared in Czechoslovakia, and stressed the importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union for the expansion of Czechoslovakia's fuels and energy base, quicker technological progress and increases in foreign trade.

The meeting was also attended by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek and Federal Minister of Fuels and Energy Vlastimil Ehrenberger.

Rudolf Rohlicek and Ivan Arkhipov headed the Czechoslovak and Soviet delegations to talks which took place later on Thursday.

LENART, COLOTKA RECEIVE NEW SOVIET COMMANDER

LD122330 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received in Bratislava today the commander of the middle group of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia, Lt Gen Grigoriy Borisov, in connection with his entrance upon duty.

The new commander was also received by Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak Premier, and Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council. The representatives of the Slovak Socialist Republic briefed the guest on development of Slovakia in the years of socialist construction, and on the topical issues of the party and state bodies at the present time.

HUSAK RECEIVES CHIEFS OF REGIONAL MILITIA STAFFS

LD122344 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received in Prague today a delegation of the chiefs of regional staffs of the People's Militia, headed by Miroslav Novak, chief of the General Staff of the People's Militia in the CSSR.

Participants in the meeting briefed Comrade Gustav Husak on the implementation of the drill period tasks, and on the progress of socialist competition in the units of People's Militia in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of its foundation.

Comrade Gustav Husak praised the meritorious work of the People's Militia's members so far, and expressed the conviction that the members of the militia will continue to do their best to implement the party line as they have in the past, and that they will fulfill working tasks with initiative and activity as well as continue to increase their political and military readiness.

PRACE REVIEWS TRENDS IN POLISH LABOR MOVEMENT

AU121646 Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Feb 81 p 2

[J. Hromadko article: "Trade Unions and the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Session"]

[Text] The eighth PZPR Central Committee session that has just been concluded is justly viewed by observers as an expression of further efforts to mobilize all upright forces dedicated to socialism to prevent further deepening of chaos and tension in the country. The speakers at the plenum and the plenum resolution spoke out resolutely against anarchy and against the continuation of the process of disintegrating society and the state, a process that is taking place owing to irresponsible actions provoked by some leaders of the so-called independent "Solidarity" trade unions. The essential need was stressed to preserve the trade union movement's political unity and its socialist character.

The situation in Poland continues to be tense. The crisis is becoming increasingly acute. Some "Solidarity" leaders who are under the influence of antisocialist forces are creating an atmosphere in which it is very difficult to set up conditions for taking the path of socialist renewal. It is an atmosphere of chaos, nervousness and hopelessness. Stirring up strikes and undermining laws, social norms and structures and state institutions--such as, according to the assessment of participants in the eighth plenum, the picture of the activity of an organization that is to defend, according to its statutes, working people's interests. Is it defending them, or is it fulfilling other tasks?

The view is becoming increasingly widespread among the Polish public that the second comes closer to the truth. Z. Gajewski, smelter in the Warszawa steel mill, stressed that many "Solidarity" spokesmen who used to be only advisers would now like to steer that trade union organization, would like to pit its members against the party and are striving to turn the organization into an opposition political party. TRYBUNA LUDU recently noted that in some "Solidarity" branches people who are known for their antisocialist views are trying to lead the collectives into a blind alley, escalating tension and trying to sustain a state of perpetual confrontation with state power bodies in order to bring about a dual rule in Poland.

Ignoring economic realities, refusing coresponsibility for the process of creating values and constantly stirring up strikes with mostly political motives--such is "Solidarity's" present position. One of the consequences is that the country's economic situation is rapidly deteriorating and supplies of the population with foodstuffs and fuels are encountering increasingly greater obstacles. That is also confirmed by the recently published report of the Main Statistical Office on last year's results. As was stressed in the recent declaration by the Government of Polish People's Republic, the price which society has to pay for the escalation of anarchy and tension can be expressed in terms of billions of zloty and thousands of tons or pieces of nondelivered products. The damage caused to people's minds is, however, more difficult to estimate. That was also pointed out by the Polish communists' session, which justly stressed that it is necessary to restore a secure socialist development of the Polish People's Republic.

The fact that the just concluded session of the PZPR Central Committee was given the task of ensuring a socialist character of trade unions as the main topic on its agenda confirms that--apart from "Solidarity's" negative activity--one can also observe positive elements of changes in the Polish trade union movement's development. More and more workers, upright trade union functionaries and activists are convinced that trade unions cannot just submit demands but must also create the material prerequisites for their fulfillment.

That sounds as though it were self-evident, but--owing to the demagogical attitude of irresponsible manipulators who have infiltrated the trade union leadership--for a part of the Polish working people this truth is buried deep under a flood of slogans on control and settling accounts being spouted by the "advisers" in "Solidarity's" leadership. Nevertheless, the number of trade unionists with a view of their own and with a constructive attitude is constantly growing in proportion to the degree to which the continuing tension and strikes are weakening the material base on which it is possible to solve problems and overcome difficulties.

A positive process is also taking place in the branch trade unions. Their ranks are being cemented; there is a fresh influx of workers to those trade unions, and their members' faith and determination to strengthen socialist positions is growing. That is why those trade unions are the PZPR's natural allies, as A. Szyszka, chairman of their coordinating commission, stressed at the just concluded plenum. They reject the spurious concept of trade union independence, which consists of evading responsibility for social interests. It is a fact that this responsibility cannot be dodged.

The number of those who wish calm and creative work and an end to strikes and provocations is growing in present-day Poland. They realize the dangers which extremist actions and the activity of forces inimical to socialism entail. It is, therefore, they to whom in particular the party and state bodies are turning and on whose help they are counting in their endeavor to ensure order and the normal life of society. Only order and a normal social life can provide the conditions to implement the formulated program of socialist renewal. That is why the just concluded Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum placed such emphasis on the efforts to bring them about.

RUDE PRAVO ON DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC MEASURES

AU121445 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 February, on page 3, carries a 6,500-word Jan Tihlarik/Miloslav Vltavsky report entitled "What Has Changed in Our Plant Since the Beginning of the Year; RUDE PRAVO Discussion With Workers on the Implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the System of Planned Management." The report states that the discussion--date and place unspecified--was attended by employees of eight specified plants and by CSSR Finance Minister Leopold Ler.

One of the topics discussed was the use of working hours and the various incentives concerned. Minister Ler is quoted as saying in this context: "At the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we want, first, to enhance the role of the incentive component of wages, mostly concerning the leading workers, so as to make this component also depend on how profitably an enterprise operates and uses its basic assets and reserves. We also want the incentive component to depend on the way an enterprise fulfills social needs in the investment sphere, and satisfies the requirements of the domestic and foreign market. Second, in the present period we consider it most necessary to revert to question of labor consumption norms [normovani spotreby prace]." The minister also added that, "in the second part of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we want to change wage tariffs, so as to make the principles of merit, effectiveness and quality the real core of the wage policy."

Another topic discussed was the use of machinery and its downtime. It was noted that "three-shift operations produce certain problems: The manpower shortage is made up by overtime work and work on Saturdays and Sundays." The shortage of spare parts is another problem noted. All this, Minister Ler stated, among other things, is connected with the interdependence between the wage funds and the profitability of production assets. "We see to it that at least 15 percent of the wages created is dependent on fulfilling the tasks concerning profitability of production assets," he said.

The next topic dealt with the quality of products and measures to ensure it. "Quality is a problem," Minister Ler stated, "because we have many complaints and rejects. That is why we have started introducing sanctions for bad work," such as "cuts in the wage means and incentive funds, particularly those for cultural and social needs. The working people's attitude to this is most positive. In a number of instances this policy has led to a change of technology and management; certain enterprises are making warranty repairs at their own cost so as to see where the mistakes lie. We have appraised this situation, and for next year we have fixed a precise figure for loss reduction in our production, compared with the preceding period. We have told a number of enterprises that they must reduce the number of rejects 25-50 percent! And there are certain enterprises which are not allowed any complaints at all," Minister Ler said.

The next topic discussed was stricter control and ways to ensure it, as well as the manpower problem. Manpower "is not being efficiently distributed," Minister Ler said, adding: "A better use of manpower is certainly a most sensitive matter, both politically and socially. It is also economically exacting. Nevertheless we must 'broach' this matter, too." To improve the situation here, Minister Ler said, "We decided on a measure aimed at letting those enterprises which improve on their planned tasks, as compared with the directive, to keep the full wage funds for the manpower saved. However, this measure has completely missed the target. The enterprises obviously feared to reveal their reserves prematurely. Nevertheless, the preparations of next year's plan make it apparent that a withdrawal from this dogma has set in, and that already in the plan for next year we have economized thousands of workers by implementing interdependence between the output proper and wages. The government has therefore decided to continue this line until the end of February, when the enterprise plans will be approved. Until then every enterprise may state whether it intends to achieve the planned output with a smaller number of employees. In this way it will in essence not lose any wage means, which will remain at its disposal" for paying those employees who show initiative, Minister Ler said. He added: "The state administration does not envisage an increase of wage means this year. If an office wants to raise the employees' earnings, it must strive to rationalize its work. We will even go so far as to reward for merging functions. (This is a Soviet experience.) Whenever a person is fulfilling two functions, he will also get a larger remuneration." With regard to subsidies for working in certain selected professions--at present received by "about 30-50 percent of all exployees"--Minister Ler said that they should be "cut down to about 15 percent of employees" in the effort "to eliminate preferential subsidies, of limit them."

In discussing the role, functions and desirable or undesirable qualities of foremen, the participants in the talk noted that the foremen's work is often complicated by short-term work brigades of university students, and that the foremen are not being provided with as good working conditions as they should have. Thus "nobody is eager to become a foreman; not even good workers, party members or nonmembers want this function" which, for good workers, involves "greater responsibility for lower wages."

After briefly dealing with the matter of the worker's responsibility for the product he delivers, the discussion goes on to deal with production conferences and their content. It was noted that these conferences acquaint the employees with the new "set of measures"; and since, "under certain conditions, the set of measures brings advantages to a certain category of employees, but is faught with conflicts for another, the production conferences are also starting to become places where opinions clash." The "set of measures will contain conflicts for the ranking personnel," Minister Ler stated in this context, because an executive must play for high stakes, whereas a worker producing good quality and adhering to norms has nothing to worry about. "We also want to gradually raise the workers' share in the economic results of enterprises in those instances when this share at present amounts to, let us say, 2-3 percent. This would make a worker as interested in good results as management," the minister added.

The report concludes by saying that "the set of measures should contribute toward enabling everybody to learn to do things better than heretofore--to learn to think in a consistently economic way." The set of measures represents "specific rules for winning the people over to actively cooperating in developing our communist party's economic policy." It has been "valid only 1 month. Now, at the beginning of the second month of its validity, the time has come to receive remuneration for the work performed. In places where preparation for the new conditions has been underrated, this is also the time for the first conflicts and for searching for the first rectifying measures."

HUSAK CONGRATULATES CASTRO, GANDHI ON ANNIVERSARY

LD110026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 17309 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Fidel Castro, president of the Council of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and to Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India, on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Nonaligned Movement.

The telegram says that the Nonaligned Movement has been, ever since its foundation 20 years ago, an important force in international relations, in the fight for the freedom and independence of nations, in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid and for the reconstruction of international economic relations on equal and democratic foundations. We praise the contribution made by the nonaligned countries to the struggle to ward off the threat of a nuclear war, to stop feverish armament and for disarmament, to deepen the process of detente and introduce it to other parts of the world.

The CSSR and its people, which is a consistent supporter of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, freedom and independence of nations, fully supports this endeavor. Together with other progressive and peace-loving forces it aids the strengthening of international security, the elimination of the centers of war tension, and the peaceful solving of conflicts, and contributes to the development of peaceful cooperation in the world. It fully supports a just solution of the situation in the Near and Middle East, the elimination of the centers of tension in the area of the Southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf, the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and stability without foreign military bases. It acts against all forms of oppression and discrimination, and for the right of independent states to determine their own fate.

At the close of the telegram the president of the republic expresses the conviction that the joint progress of the forces of peace and progress in solving the topical problems of international development will prevent the realization of the aggressive plans of imperialism and reaction and strengthen the hope of nations for a peaceful and independent development.

PRESS OFFICE, JOURNALISTS SIGN AGREEMENT WITH APN

LD121050 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0330 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between APN, the Federal Office for Press and Information, and the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, was signed yesterday in Prague. In the presence of Otto Cmolik, chief of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee, the agreement was signed by Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Office for Press and Information, Andrey Shanshin, director of APN, and Zdenek Horeni, chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists.

HONECKER INTERVIEWED ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICY

LD121520 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1019 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Interview with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, by British publisher Robert Maxwell--date and place not given]

[Text] Berlin, 12 Feb (ADN)--Question: What measures would you like to see from President Reagan in the United States, following his inauguration, for improved relations between the GDR and United States in particular and between the United States and the socialist countries in general?

Answer: In my telegram on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's inauguration I expressed, together with my best wishes, the hope that relations between the GDR and United States will continue to develop on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in the interests of strengthening world peace and to the advantage of both our peoples. Such a development of relations, as things are today, should be the most important factor in international politics for there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

In this respect, arms limitation and disarmament are coming increasingly to the fore. We support all constructive steps in this direction. As you can see, we are in favor of normal good relations between the United States and socialist countries. This applies especially, and this will be understood by everyone, to the relationship between the United States and Soviet Union.

It is to be hoped that the recent proposals by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev on questions of arms limitation and disarmament will in time meet with a positive response on the part of President Reagan. This would have a fruitful influence on resolving the most urgent issues in the world, including the political settlement of hotbeds of tension.

As far as the GDR and United States are concerned, we have repeatedly declared our readiness to take advantage of the various opportunities for the future development of bilateral relations, whether in the political, economic or cultural fields. The normalization of trade relations and development of the system of agreements would be of great value. This would not only accord with the interests of our two peoples but would at the same time benefit the improvement of the international climate, detente and peace.

Question: The situation in the Western industrial countries is more or less characterized by substantially increased unemployment, a certain amount of inflation and considerably reduced prospects with regard to exports both this year and next year. In contrast to this, what are the GDR's expectation in its plans for economic growth, employment and export in the current year and in 1982?

Answer: As you can see from the law on the 1981 economic plan adopted by our parliament in December 1980, we have above all made high demands of ourselves. In accordance with our economy's stable and dynamic development during the past 10 years, during which we achieved a growth in national income averaging 4.7 percent annually, we set a target for 1981 of 5 percent. Industrial goods production is to increase by 5.8 percent and labor productivity by 5 percent. It will increase even more in some branches of industry: by 7.7 percent in the field of electrical engineering and electronics, by 7.7 percent in machine tool construction and by 6.7 percent in agricultural machinery construction. We expect our foreign trade turnover within the international division of labor to increase by 16 percent. Such figures are to be sure quite considerable if one considers that in some Western industrial countries there is now talk of "zero growth," even of "minus growth," bringing with it all the consequences of unemployment, inflation and constant price increases at the expense of the man in the street.

The direction taken by the GDR parliament in improving our people's material and cultural living standards is made possible by the continued renewal of our production processes, particularly in industry. Consequently, the population's net income will increase by 4 percent, retail trade turnover will also increase by 4 percent while prices for basic necessity goods will remain the same.

As you see, therefore, we are pursuing, in accordance with our economic strategy, the goal of compensating for the increases in the cost of raw materials on the international market by increasing labor productivity, that is, by an intensified increase in performance which is based more and more on the results of scientific and technological progress. We are relying in this respect on our country's most important potential, the highly trained workers and cooperative peasants, scientists and technicians, in which a very large part is played by the advanced educational system.

It is also known internationally that the GDR has had good results recently in the utilization of its own raw material resources, more efficient management of our great industrial combines and in such progressive manufacturing methods as microelectronics and robot technology. In particular, we are developing the pacesetting branches of industry and construction. In this way we will continue to improve our country's position in mastering modern technologies and producing highly finished products.

With the aid of the socialist planned economy, social energies can be concentrated on what is most essential. We can rely on a high degree of performance readiness on the part of the workers to whom long experience has shown that economic progress in the GDR is linked with social progress.

This is the direction in which things are to continue not only in 1982 but including the period up to 1985. This will be decided, however by the 10th SED Congress, which meets in Berlin from the 11 through 16 April.

Question: The GDR was no less affected by the increased price of oil and other raw materials than the economies of the Western countries. Must the GDR also come to terms with the end of growth, and thus with a stagnation of the living standards of the population?

Answer: Neither one nor the other. Although, in the face of world economic developments, I will not consider it a tragedy if the annual growth rates up to 1985 are not as high as has been proposed at the present time--or as one likes to say today--has been forecast. Naturally, the development of prices on the world market--especially oil, natural gas and other raw materials--also has its effect on our economy. The SED Central Committee and the GDR Government, in accordance with data submitted to us by the scientists, have in good time analyzed the likely changes in a responsible manner, and drawn the necessary conclusions for the strategy of our economic and social policy.

Our republic is indeed relatively poor in raw materials and fuels. In working out the prospects for economic development we were, however, able to take account of the fact that we import the major part of our raw materials and fuels from the Soviet Union. These comprehensive deliveries have for a long time been agreed for the next 5-year plan. They take place according to regulations applying in CEMA at prices corresponding always to the median of the prices applying during the past 5 years on the main capitalist markets. In accordance with this, in 1980 we paid for crude oil about half the price demanded by the oil companies.

However, in spite of this our expenditure for energy and raw materials increased considerably. Our economic policy takes account of increased prices for raw materials and fuels by the occasional increase in industrial prices. This forces our enterprises and combines to manage more efficiently. At the same time, we ensure in our economic policy that the increase in industrial prices is not reflected in retail prices.

The retail price of goods of daily requirement--this is more than 80 percent of goods on offer--remains stable, as well as the prices for rents, fares, electricity and gas, and other services. Of this you can be convinced.

Question: How do you now regard interstate relations between the two Germanies? Do you think a further development of these relations is possible? What measures are conceivable in this respect?

Answer: Opportunities for further developing relations between the two Germanies certainly exist. This is evident from the very fact that these relations are at present not what they could be. As before, we proceed from the premise that the relationship between the two German states is of importance not only for the citizens of the Federal Republic and GDR but also for peace and detente in Europe.

What steps are conceivable for further developing relations between the GDR and FRG is difficult to say at present. As you know, problems are involved which are not always calculable from our side. We do not know, for example, what steps the FRG regards possible in order to proceed in the development of relations with the GDR more comprehensively then hitherto from the universally applicable principles of international law. We are striving for steps of this nature. It must not be overlooked in this respect either that decisive progress, especially in securing peace--for example in the field of arms limitation and disarmament--would be advantageous to relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Question: Herr Honecker, in your speech in Gera, you made improvements in German-German relations dependent, among other things, on Bonn recognizing GDR state citizenship. Do you still regard this demand as a prerequisite for further talks and negotiations with the Federal Government? What concessions would the GDR be prepared to make in return in the event the Federal Government recognizes your state citizenship?

Answer: Your question shows how relations between the GDR and the FRG have been distorted in the Western world. We never set preconditions for talks which are intended to help reduce tensions in the interests of peace and normalize relations between states. Such talks, as is usual in international practice, can of course, only promise success if they are held on the basis of equality and respect for the principle of equal security for all.

For the rest, GDR state citizenship is not a question for talks between the GDR and FRG. Every state has its own territory, borders and state citizens. Every politician knows this, not to mention experts on international law. The GDR currently maintains diplomatic relations with 131 states in the world, is a member of the United Nations and its special organizations. It is one of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council and even temporarily held the chairmanship of it. The question of state citizenship only plays a role in relations between the GDR and the FRG because in the FRG, contrary to all international law, the law on state citizenship dates from the time of Wilhelm II, and the practice is to discriminate against state citizens of the GDR. This, of course, we will never accept.

As a result of World War II and postwar developments, two sovereign states, indepdendent of each other, have developed on German soil--the socialist GDR and capitalist FRG. Each of them naturally has its own citizens, whether the FRG accepts this or not. Its law on state citizenship dating from the time of Wilhelm II is long outdated and is all the more inapplicable to GDR citizens. We are thus in full and complete agreement with international law. Even FRG politicians, if they want to be taken seriously, cannot eliminate this fact. We noted with interest therefore that recently leading politicians both of the governing coalition in Bonn and of the opposition have not infrequently used the term "federal citizen." In so doing so, they are, contrary to all legalistic fabrications, approaching closer to the truth.

It is high time, therefore, that the FRG finally recognized the existence of the two independent, sovereign German states. After all, nowadays no one can any longer give credence to the obsession of the "continued existence of the German Reich within its 1937 frontiers," let alone pursue a policy based on that idea. The sooner this is realized in Bonn the better it will be for further normalizing relations between the GDR and FRG.

It is interesting that recently, particularly after my speech in Gera, more and more public figures in the FRG from a variety of sectors have spoken out in favor of a realistic policy toward the GDR. They want a policy free of the old ideas which favor revanchist doctrines. Unless people free themselves from these, there will be no progress in the development of relations between the GDR and FRG; there will be repeated setbacks. We would also like the FRG to adhere to what is customary in international life, what has been laid down by treaty and, finally, what is stated in the Helsinki Final Act, namely to fully respect the sovereignty of other states, in this case the GDR's sovereignty.

The question of any concessions being reciprocated does not exist at all. The very fact of further normalizing relations between the GDR and FRG is not only of mutual advantage but also has a positive effect on the international situation as well. Relations between two sovereign states are generally based on international law and can only be developed to the advantage of both sides. No price is paid either in internal state or international life for adhering to laws. What is necessary is the good will of both sides, respect for the existence of two German states. That is the core of the problem. That is where realism is vital.

Question: The GDR Government, explaining the increase in the minimum exchange requirement, cited mainly economic reasons rather than reasons of political principle. Under what conditions would the GDR be prepared to partially or fully withdraw the charge?

Answer: First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that there can be no question of an "increase in the minimum exchange requirement by the GDR Government." On the contrary, as is stated in the decree of Finance Minister Dr Schmieder, it is a question of adjusting the minimum exchange requirement of foreign currency into GDR marks for visitors to the GDR in order to counter Western, especially Federal German, speculation with GDR currency. You will know that under the laws and decrees of our state it is prohibited for GDR marks to be taken abroad to Western countries or for GDR marks to be brought from there into the GDR. This is not observed either by the exchange bureaus in (West) Berlin or in the FRG. The exchange offered by them of DM1 for 5 GDR marks is a fraudulent exchange rate which simply serves to enrich the owners of the exchange bureaus and damages the GDR.

The adjustment of the minimum exchange requirement only applies to travellers who intend to visit the GDR under the existing GDR regulations. It goes without saying that the visitor essentially pays for his visiting costs himself. Furthermore, I would like to point out that the GDR exchange requirement rates are far from being the highest, even though this could be excused in view of the inflationary development in the Western countries. According to the most recent information, the minimum exchange requirement in the People's Republic of Poland, for example, is 40 marks per day and in the Soviet Union 65 marks. The exchange requirement in the CSSR, as in the GDR, is 25 marks per day, in the Socialist Republic of Romania it is 24 marks. As you see, the minimum exchange requirement is imposed by various countries and in some of them the amount is higher than in the GDR. It is, therefore, not a unique case. In addition, there are many visitors to the GDR who refrain from committing an offence by using the Western exchange bureaus and exchange convertible currency into GDR marks in addition to the minimum exchange requirement at the appropriate GDR finance institutions.

The adjustment of the minimum exchange requirement for visitors to the GDR was carried out--and I am sure you will understand this on the basis of the facts--for purely economic reasons. We find it incomprehensible that so much fuss is being made in connection with this new rate. As I am informed, both Britain and the United States are interested in visitors to their countries having enough money to be able to meet their living expenses themselves. The same applies to the minimum exchange requirement for visitors to the GDR.

We are a hospitable country but no one is obliged to visit us. That is why the term "compulsory exchange" is completely out of place. In view of the inflationary development in the Western states, a withdrawal of the minimum exchange requirement rate would be completely unfeasible for purely financial policy reasons. Finally, we cannot check every visitor to see whether he is smuggling FRG marks into the GDR illegally. This would cause considerable disruptions to tourist traffic.

Question: The increase in the minimum exchange requirement has made visits to the GDR impossible or at least more difficult for many West Germans, especially pensioners, socially weaker persons and workers' families. Should this not be seen as a measure of isolationism vis-a-vis the Federal Republic?

Answer: So far, Western propaganda has always given the impression that there were no socially weak people in the Federal Republic at all. The propaganda acted as if the FRG had the richest pensioners and richest unemployed in the world. All of a sudden socially weak people have come into existence. But this is not our fault. If I recall correctly, a proposed increase in pensions in the FRG was only recently rejected by the Bundestag. But this is an affair of the Federal Republic in which I do not wish to interfere. Suffice it to say: The GDR's practice to date, which our government alone can determine, was at the expense of GDR citizens. Our government is there to protect their interests and our sociopolitical program is intended to increase the well-being of GDR citizens who, through their industrious work, create the prerequisites for such well-being.

We are not responsible for subsidizing tourist trips from the West to the GDR. Let it be noted, by the way, that the GDR finance minister's decree on the minimum exchange requirement states that children up to 6 years of age can enter the country without exchanging money, and young people from 6 to 15 years of age only have to exchange DM7.50. Therefore this has nothing to do with isolationism.

Question: At a private session in Bonn, leading social democratic politicians made progress in talks dependent on the GDR's readiness to withdraw the minimum exchange requirement at least partially. Is there a chance of the two German governments making a political deal on this basis?

Answer: I do not know what was discussed in the closed session you mention. As far as your knowledge of me goes, and you are after all publishing my autobiography, you must know that I only accept negotiating partners who do not set prerequisites for a discussion.

Question: You have personally expressed your respect to Bonn's representative in East Berlin, Guenter Gaus, for his expert work. Klaus Boelling, the new head of the mission, is far closer to the federal chancellor than his predecessor. Do you see in this an advantage for further normalizing relations between the two German states?

Answer: Whether the new head of the mission, Herr Klaus Boelling, is far closer to the federal chancellor than his predecessor, is not known to me. Decisive for the further normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG is that both partners proceed from the fact that it is a case of relations between states with differing social systems.

Question: Am I right in assuming that your government and the government of Federal Chancellor Schmidt continue to agree in the desire that international tensions not destroy the stability and detente attained in Europe?

Answer: As before, the GDR Government is interested in maintaining the stability in Europe brought about through the process of detente. I am sure that we are not wrong if we assume that a lasting safeguarding of what has already been achieved makes it necessary to complement political with military detente. If one considers NATO's counterarming policy, then regretfully matters are not hopeful in this sphere.

As I already told you earlier, this NATO policy of counterarming, borne especially by the U.S. and the FRG, represents a threat to peace, as it has the purpose of altering the military equilibrium to the detriment of the socialist community. Whether Federal Chancellor Schmidt's government agrees with me on this is something to which I would like to affix at least a question of mark on the basis of the latest debate in the Bundestag. According to the shorthand transcription available to me there has been in the Bundestag far-reaching agreement between the government parties and the opposition on the question of the 1979 Brussels missile decision, the 1978 NATO long-term program, the nonratification of SALT II and the new U.S. nuclear strategy.

Every statesman is faced by the decision whether to pursue an active policy of peace, of arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of military equilibrium and cooperation, or contribute toward stepping up the arms race by arming, with all the dangers it brings with it. This is the focal question of our time, and every statesman must be judged by his attitude toward it.

Question: The West explained the hardening of the GDR's attitude toward Bonn as a result of the unstable situation in Poland. Is this correct?

Answer: No. There is no hardening of the GDR attitude toward Bonn. As before, we are prepared to normalize GDR-FRG relations further in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and to attain good-neighborly relations.

Following the latest events, however, it seems to be clear that one must reduce in the FRG the prejudices against the GDR. Here I must agree with all those who decry the fact that in the FRG, after 31 years of existence of two sovereign German states independent of each other, there are still those who, despite reality, cannot bring themselves to recognize the GDR at heart. Naturally, somebody still caught up in the fiction of the "continued existence of the German Reich with its 1937 borders" cannot see the world as it is today and draw the necessary conclusions for political actions.

None of this, as you can see, has anything to do with the present situation in Poland. Indeed, I share the view that the great amount of publicity given to the events in Poland by the Western, and especially by the FRG mass media, not only represents interference in the internal affairs of Poland but also promotes international tension.

Question: With regard to economic aid for Poland and additional burdens on the GDR resulting from the current events in Poland the Western press accuses the GDR of having a negative attitude toward recent events in Poland and claims it has a politically aggressive attitude. Can you cite some facts and figures regarding the economic aid the GDR has given Poland to help it overcome its economic crisis? Also, what effects are the production shortfalls in Poland and the related nonfulfillment of agreements having on the GDR in the field of energy and elsewhere?

Answer: It is no secret that the GDR is following the current events in Poland with great sympathy. We are allied in the Warsaw Pact and have a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance which is valid until beyond the year 2000.

It goes without saying that we should give the Polish party and state leadership not only political and moral but also material aid in order to overcome the difficulties. This is true all the more since the Polish representatives to the December 1980 meeting of leading representatives of socialist countries stated that the Poland was, is and will remain socialist.

What the Western press writes about the relationship between the GDR and Poland is of no concern to me. These are the people who would like to forget Maidanek and Auschwitz.

Our republic at any rate can claim that in recent times it has granted Poland additional aid amounting to more than 500 million marks, 250 million of which were in freely convertible currency. So far we have been able to compensate for stoppages in Polish deliveries in our foreign trade. I believe that this will continue to be possible due to the GDR's dynamic economic strength.

Question: In which spheres do you see opportunities for further treaty agreements between the two German states?

Answer: Primarily though endeavors for peace and disarmament, and on questions in economic cooperation, transport, science and other spheres. However there can be no progress under a policy of confrontation. More than ever before commonsense and realism are necessary.

Question: No fundamental statement on foreign policy questions has been issued by you since your Gera speech. Functionaries from your party already talk about foreign policy speechlessness. What is the reason for this reticence?

Answer: I do not know who told you this. No doubt political speechlessness is a feature of those who do not follow developments in the world and who are not prepared to work for real arms limitation and disarmament, who do not want to have talks on this on the basis of equality and equal security for all.

Question: Concerning Amnesty International, a few days ago a document was published for the third time since 1966 accusing the GDR of violating international treaties signed by you yourself, such as the treaty on civic and political rights ratified in 1973 and the Helsinki Final Act. What is your view to this charge?

Answer: This organization is clerly one of the many in the West financed from shady sources, and which sets itself the task of slandering upright states. I ask you to look at our Constitution and the laws of the GDR. You will find that the principles of international law are enshrined in the constitution.

The claim that 3,000-7,000 GDR citizens are imprisoned for political reasons is simply a gross lie. The discrepancy of 4,000 alone indicates how seriously these people tackle such questions.

You can further proceed from the premise that all citizens here are equal before the law. Since the last amnesty in 1979 there has been not a single political prisoner here.

Question: During your state visit to Austria you expressed a wish for increased cultural exchanges between the two states, the GDR and Austria, and held out the prospects for youth tourism. Will there be more rapid progress in relations between Austria and the GDR than between the Federal Republic and the GDR?

Answer: The good development of relations between the GDR and the Republic of Austria arises from the constructive attitude adopted by both sides to the most important international and bilateral questions. Naturally, there will continue to be good and speedy progress in relations with those states who shape their relations with the GDR and full mutual regard for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and according to the principle of noninterference in internal affairs.

Question: Can it be assumed that the GDR delegation at the Madrid meeting, which was resumed at the end of January, will take positive initiatives so that some results are achieved by the conference?

Answer: Whatever depends on the GDR and on the socialist states will be done. You can be certain about that. I see adequate starting points for concluding the Madrid meeting with positive results. To this end, the GDR and other socialist states have already submitted almost 50 constructive proposals. They cover all the "baskets" of the Helsinki Final Act.

Undoubtedly, measures aimed at military detente in Europe are particularly important. That is why we support the proposal by the People's Republic of Poland to agree in Madrid on a mandate to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. The socialist states are ready to hold a practical discussion of all considerations and proposals. Differing views need not and should not be an obstacle to reaching agreement on holding such a conference.

In the fields of economic and humanitarian cooperation, too, we have submitted constructive proposals. Here I have in mind the convening of a European energy congress, the strengthening of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, trade promotion, the conclusion of cultural agreements, cooperation between youth organizations, and other proposals.

Success at Madrid requires a constructive approach on the part of all participants and calls for a rejection of propagandistic attitudes and confrontation.

Question: What do you think about the state of relations between the GDR and Great Britain, and the opportunities for their further development?

Answer: Relations between the GDR and the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland are developing positively. We have a very good trade development and I expect it will be possible during the coming Leipzig Spring Fair to reach further agreements in this field. Relations in the cultural sector have improved recently. It can be assumed that development of cultural exchange will lead to a further rise in the state of relations between the GDR and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Close contacts exist between our Foreign Ministry and the British Foreign Office, particularly in connection with the Madrid conference.

Question: What effect do you think your coming visit to Japan will have on the further development of bilateral relations?

Answer: My visit will undoubtedly be of great importance to the development of relations between the GDR and Japan. It will, at the same time, be a contribution toward implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. As you know, good relations have been developing between our two countries for a long time, both in the economic as well as cultural fields. The political dialogue between the GDR and Japan has increased in recent times. It can be stated already that my visit will not only serve to get to know the country and people better, but will also lead to further stabilization of the friendly relations between the GDR and Japan.

Question: You are soon to pay a state visit to Mexico. What expectations do you place on this visit?

Answer: I have been invited by the Mexican president, Mr Lopez Portillo. I will make this visit before the end of this year. It will provide an opportunity for me to get to know this major and important country with which we have friendly relations.

Both states are interested in continuing along the good course of strengthening cooperation to our mutual advantage which we successfully embarked upon during the past years. In our view, conditions are favorable for this. I am in total agreement with President Lopez Portillo, who recently assessed our relations in an interview as potentially very rich.

In view of the similar or concurring views held by the two states on important world-political issues, I am awaiting the talks and exchange of views with the Mexican president with great interest. I am certain our meeting can be a valuable contribution toward international understanding and to securing peace.

JOINT GDR-SOVIET TROOP UNITS HOLD EXERCISE

LD121512 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1440 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Feb (ADN)--In a joint exercise by troop units and units of the National People's Army (NVA) and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, members of the NVA and Soviet soldiers demonstrated their high degree of fighting power and combat readiness today. Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, SED Politburo member and minister for national defense, Army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, and Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact member-states in the NVA, convinced themselves of this in the combat actions in southern GDR.

Under complicated conditions, the motorized infantry, artillery, tank and missile troops of the two fraternal armies carried out the combat tasks set them in close coordination with and supported by the air force and other branches of the services.

Army General Hoffmann and Army General Zaytsev thanked the comrades-in-arms for their operational readiness and military ability which they demonstrated shoulder to shoulder. Words and deeds of the comrades participating from both armies show that they understand correctly the policy of the CPSU and SED, which is based on securing peace and protecting socialism, and are actively helping to implement it. This is also a fitting answer to those circles of imperialism which want to change the international balance of forces in their favor and roll back socialism by means of an arms drive, an unchecked increase in the aggression readiness of NATO troops and anticommunist incitement. The firm class comradeship and comradeship-in-arms between the forces united in the Warsaw Pact provides the guarantee that the achievements of socialism and communism would be realiably secured militarily, stressed the GDR defense minister.

POLAND: BRANCH TU PROTESTS BUILDING TAKEOVER

LD131104 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (ADN)--At its meeting on Wednesday, the National Coordination Commission of Poland's branch trade unions protested a unilateral and, in its view, illegal decision by the Lublin governor, Eugeniusz Garbiao. It also informed PAP of this in a statement. The commission will today send a letter to the premier and the PZPR leadership demanding that this arbitrary decision by the Lublin governor, which came about as a result of massive pressure from "Solidarity" be withdrawn.

Representatives of the Lublin branch trade unions told the correspondents of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and RUDE PRAVO on Wednesday that the Lublin governor, Eugeniusz Garbiao, who has been in office for approximately 2 months, made the unilateral decision on handing over the Lublin trade union building, Ulica Krolewska 3, to "Solidarity" on 6 February. The previous day, "Solidarity" ordered strike readiness in all plants and threatened to occupy the trade union building it was demanding.

This building not only belonged to the old trade unions. For 26 years a number of branch unions have had their seat there, at present eight of them. Contrary to the announcement published by the governor's press spokesman in the voivodship's paper SZTANDAR LUDU on 9 February, the governor neither consulted the branch unions nor attempted to reach an agreement prior to his decision.

Instead, the Lublin District executives or the departments of the branch unions are now faced with the situation of leaving these rooms by the end of February and handing them over to "Solidarity." Various other facilities of the trade unions have already been taken over by "Solidarity."

LE MONDE REPORTS ON GDR ASSESSMENT OF POLAND

LD121145 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Feb 81 pp 1, 4

[Part I of Bernard Brigouleix article: "Tension-Proof East Germany: Far From Warsaw"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin--"The things which are happening in Poland could not happen here." This leitmotiv in talks with East German leaders is, however, not merely an example of the Coue method [reference to French psychotherapist who believed in the power of positive thinking]. East Berlin has probably taken its precautions for whatever purpose. However, the general feeling in the GDR is that Warsaw is now paying the price of serious mistakes which have not been made on this side of the Oder-Neisse line. Those mistakes consisted essentially in an official pledge, premature to say the least, to improve the Poles' living standard quickly and in a spectacular way.

"Gierek was no doubt a fine fellow," an East German journalist commented. "But when he said he was going to create a second Poland alongside the first and that everything was going to be doubled, he was dreaming. Strict socialism adapts badly to this type of promise. Dreams which cannot be fulfilled must not be awakened. For instance when you launch into a policy of large-scale imports, you must not later be bewildered about the foreign trade deficit and the country's debts, notably to the capitalist countries. It is possible to sympathize with the Gierek team's mistake. But it is a serious mistake even if made with good intentions."

What about the risk of contamination? Official circles in the GDR do not believe it possible, do not want to believe it possible. "We have never told the population that anything was possible, that El Dorado was just around the corner," one said. "Our trade unions, despite all their shortcomings, are much more in tune with the population," another asserted, "and then people here are fully aware that you can only consume what you have produced."

Indeed a degree of anti-Polish irritation is never very far away in these East German analyses of the mistakes made by the government and also, in reality, by the population of this burdensome neighbor. However, people in East Berlin categorically deny any campaign of opinion against Poland. People there assert that the GDR is far from having any nostalgia for the "Drang nach Osten" in which national socialism, dare we say it, was illustrated. They have long since accepted the restoration to Poland of the northeastern territories where those events started. It is not here that people would lapse into saying, still less writing, Dantzig for Gdansk or Stettin for Sczeczin: unlike the FRG press the GDR press wanted even to forget the German name of those cities.

"When this part of Germany became socialist," an official analyst explained, "one of our priority tasks was to struggle against any form of racism. That was not very difficult in other socialist countries. Here it was a revolution within the revolution. In particular we had to root out a certain people's--yes, why not admit it, people's--disdain for the Eastern peoples, particularly the Poles. So don't come and tell us now that we are anti-Polish!"

Nonetheless a certain irritated reflex, to say the least, toward these unruly Poles--the choice of the word "anarchy" by ADN is significant--who are so unproductive, so romantic, in short so un-Prussian and unsocialist, is now coming in useful. This reflex is scarcely discouraged now by the analyses--economic, strictly economic--produced by authorized pens.

In the border regions people are opportunely recalling that, before the restrictions imposed by East Berlin on the movement of people between the two countries, many Poles came, thanks to their Western currency purchased goodness knows how, to obtain from East German intershops--the stores where you can find anything provided you pay in dollars, FRG marks, French francs or another Western currency--the goods they could not find at home.

There probably is no anti-Polish campaign in the strict sense of the term in the GDR. There is simply a particular way of recording and making official the peoples' exasperation--which is real--toward these Poles who wanted everything immediately (or almost immediately, although Poland has been socialist for a number of 5-year periods) without paying the fair price os sweat, if not blood and tears....

Then, at the second level, there is all that the official analysis does not say. Everything which cannot be explained to the omnipresent big Soviet brother. East Berlin's attitude of "stop me or I'll do something desperate" with regard to the Poles is not a complete sham: The GDR can probably assess better than any other socialist country to what extent a military invasion of Poland would, in a way, be disastrous for it and, more generally, for the camp to which it belongs.

Its participation in a military action against Poland would be likely to ruin the efforts which the GDR is making, with considerable success in some cases, to play an autonomous diplomatic role, notably in Africa; not to mention the risks of economic reprisals from the West--risks to which this country, which is obsessed with its balance of payments, cannot remain indifferent.

From the Foreign Ministry to editorial offices, from the SED leadership to that of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, you constantly hear that the Poles must settle their own problems and that all the rumors about a possible Soviet intervention are deliberately alarmist or at least premature, even though the latest analyses on the situation in Poland published in Moscow and East Berlin scarcely inspire optimism. But, if such an intervention were nonetheless to take place, the hope is clearly that the GDR would not take part. In the corridors of power in East Berlin it is even being whispered that the Soviets, aware of the disastrous effects which a German-Soviet invasion of Poland would have at the diplomatic level, would agree to leave the East German Army out of military operations if there were an intervention.

Contrary to what has widely been said in the West, that would probably be more of a relief than a disappointment to the GDR Government, despite the threatening tone it is adopting, if only because of the fact that, beyond this Iron Curtain which the East has covered with barbed wire and machineguns, on the other side of that vast rampart which zigzags from the Baltic to the Czechoslovak border, there is that other Germany, the FRG, with which East Berlin has relations whole future now has a question mark hanging over it.

COMMENTARY: WASHINGTON PRESSURES GREECE ON BASES

DW121451 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1427 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Hermann Burghardt commentary]

[Text] While NATO maneuvers are held in Turkey, 200 kilometers south of its border with the Soviet Union, the supreme commander of the armed forces of the Western military pact, U.S. General Rogers, is visiting the Greek capital of Athens. Officially it is said that Rogers plans to conduct negotiations with the Greek Government. But press reports reveal that his visit is aimed at bringing pressure to bear on Greece once again so as to enforce a speedy expansion of the network of U.S. military bases on Greek territory.

It is generally known that Greece, after long urging by Washington, rejoined the integrated military system of NATO only on 20 October last year, a system which it had left in 1974 in protest against the landing of Turkish troops on Cyprus. The United States, since the revolution in Iran which entailed the loss of its military bases in that country, has been employing every means to make up for this serious loss to its military strategy. What Rogers demands in Athens is not only the accelerated enhancement and modernization of the Greek bases, but also a few base for NATO as well as the establishment of a NATO staff in Larissa.

The pressure Washington applies on the Athens politicians is aimed at supporting the deployment of the U.S. forces in the Gulf region apart from reinforcing the southern flank of the Western military machinery. On the other hand, this tends to intensify the aggression training against the socialist countries in the Balkan region and against the south of the Soviet Union.

But the Greek people, which had already manifested their rejection of rejoining the NATO military organization with the greatest mass demonstrations of the postwar era, more and more fear the negative effects of this policy on Greece. The strengthening of the southern flank means for the Greeks not only the presence of foreign troops and arms in the country, this strengthening also includes the deployment of medium-range missiles and nuclear warheads, and even the neutron weapons, if U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has his way.

A small country like Greece, which besides has not yet settled its quarrels with its neighbor and NATO partner Turkey, has a hard time resisting such wishes. These are additional dangers for the people as well as for the sovereignty of Greece, especially in case of war. This is why not only the communist party but also the socialist PASOK, [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] of Papandreou, which many people suppose will be the strongest Greek party after the parliamentary elections in the fall, have made the demand for the closure of the U.S. bases the core of their election programs.

New large mass actions against Greece's ties with NATO are ahead. They show that the bases of the NATO military pact in Greece are not at all as solidly moored as General Rogers would like them to be.

VISITING IRANIAN DELEGATION RECEIVED BY FISCHER

LD122116 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1815 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Feb (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, on Thursday received a government delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, headed by Dr Mohammed Javad Bahonar, minister of education and training, for a detailed exchange of views.

Dr Bahonar conveyed his government's interest in cooperation with the GDR. He then explained Iran's position on international questions as well as the difficulties and problems which have arisen from the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

Oskar Fischer paid tribute to the significant successes of the Iranian people, linked with the Iranian people's revolution, and stressed the position of solidarity of the GDR toward the revolution. He underlined the readiness of the GDR to continue friendly cooperation with the Islamic Republic for the mutual benefit of both peoples.

Referring to the development of the international situation Oskar Fischer said that the GDR was decidedly in favor of preserving world peace. It saw a substantial objective of its foreign policy in opposing the imperialists' policy of confrontation, and working for peace, disarmament and detente together with all progressive and peaceloving forces.

In this context he condemned the establishment of imperialists military bases and the massive increase of imperialist naval formations in the Indian Ocean. He also stressed the interest of the GDR in peaceful developments in the Indian Ocean and in the Gulf region.

The GDR is watching with serious concern the continued armed conflict between two states with whom the GDR has friendly ties--Iraq and Iran. This tragic conflict which has brought the peoples of both states a great deal of distress is being used above all by imperialist circles for their maneuvers directed against the interests of the peoples.

Oskar Fischer stated the view of the GDR according to which disputes between states ought to be settled by means of peaceful negotiations without outside interference. The earliest possible end to the military confrontation and settling the conflict would serve the future development of both states, the cause of peace in the Middle East as well as detente in the world while countering the imperialist confrontation course.

The GDR continues to support the peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. It opposes all attempts at violating the independence and sovereignty of states under whatever pretext this may be.

The two partners then reaffirmed the interest of the GDR and the Islamic Republic in the promotion of mutually advantageous relations.

Bahonar Statement

LD122120 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2008 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Feb (AND)--Dr Mohammed Javad Bahonar, Iranian education minister, told a press conference in Berlin today that during his meeting with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer he noted "many common positions." He said that the delegation he was heading had noted with satisfaction that the GDR was adopting a friendly attitude toward the Islamic revolution in Iran. This created a good basis for the future expansion of relations between the two countries.

Referring to the policy of U.S. imperialism toward the Islamic Republic of Iran the minister stated that it continued to hatch various plots against Iran. For example, it was seeking to foster discord between the ethnic groups in Iran. The Iranian people were countering these maneuvers with vigilance and determination. They have decided to continue their revolutions which, by their unity, have helped them to score a victory over U.S. imperialism, and they are now prepared to make immense efforts in this struggle.

FISCHER RECEIVES VISITING MPR DEPUTY MINISTER

LD122356 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Feb (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer on Thursday received Sonomdorjiyn Dambadarjaa, Mongolian deputy foreign minister, who is in the GDR for consultations. In a friendly talk the two politicians reaffirmed the determination to contribute to consolidating peace and security in Europe, Asia and throughout the world together with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, and to reject the imperialist policy of confrontation. They paid tribute to the high level of relations of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation between the two states and discussed their future expansion.

HONECKER SENDS GREETINGS TO IRAN ON NATIONAL DAY

AU121330 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 81 pp 1,2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--On the national holiday of the Islamic Republic of Iran Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, sent telegrams of cordial congratulation to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni and Dr Abolhasan Bani-Sadr.

The telegram to Ayatollah Khomeyni reads as follows:

The national holiday of the Islamic Republic of Iran is an occasion to convey cordial congratulations to you, your holiness. I am firmly convinced that the relations between our countries will further develop and deepen in the interest of the joint struggle for peace and a prosperous future of our peoples. I wish the Iranian people further success and you personally, your holiness, best health, creative energy and well-being.

The telegram to President Dr Bani-Sadr reads as follows:

The national holiday of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a pleasant occasion to convey sincere congratulations to you, Your Excellency. I am convinced that the friendly relations which exist between our countries and peoples on the basis of the joint striving for peace and social progress, will continue to develop in future to the benefit of the people on the basis of mutual advantage.

Please accept my best wishes for health, creative energy and success in your responsible work to the benefit of the Iranian people.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of congratulations to Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

HONECKER GREETS ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

AU121836 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 81 pp 1,2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The SED Central Committee has conveyed the following greetings message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the 19th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party, which will be opened in Haifa this evening:

The SED Central Committee conveys fraternal militant greetings to the delegates of the 19th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party and to all members of your party.

Your party congress takes place at a time in which imperialism and reaction exert every effort to regain their lost positions in the Middle East and to forcibly oppress the striving of the peoples for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. Therefore the struggle of the Israeli Communist Party, the vanguard of the workers class and all democratic forces of your country, against the aggressive course of Israel's ruling forces is of great importance. It is with admiration and sympathy that the members of our party watch the firm and consistent policy of Marxism-Leninism pursued by the Israeli communists, as well as their courageous commitment to the national interests of the Israeli people and to peace, democracy and social progress.

Firmly linked with all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world, in particular the Soviet Union, and guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Israeli Communist Party has gained a high reputation in the communist and workers movement all over the world. Steady and fraternal relations have developed between the Israeli Communist Party and the SED on the basis of complete harmony on all political issues. We want to assure you, dear comrades, that in the future we will continue to be firmly on your side and will exert every effort to support your struggle and consolidate and deepen our relations. The SED wishes every success to your 19th party congress. We are convinced that it will be an important stimulus for consolidating the peaceful forces in Israel, mobilizing the masses, as well as strengthening the Israeli Communist Party.

HOFFMANN ISSUES ORDER ON CIVIL DEFENSE DAY

LD111114 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0310 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 11 Feb (ADN)--In an order of the day on the occasion of the 23d anniversary of GDR Civil Defense Day Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, the defense minister, thanked noncommissioned officers, officers and civilian employees, as well as all members of the civil defense, for their work. The anniversary will be celebrated as part of the comprehensive preparations for the 10th SED Congress, the order states.

The members of the civil defense, supported by the will of the working people to defend themselves, have made noteworthy achievements in the protection of the people, factories and installations. "At a time when the most aggressive forces of imperialism are accelerating the arms race and seeking open confrontation with socialism, increased defense efforts in all areas of socialist society, as well as in the whole coalition [as received], are essential. In this connection, there must be a perfect mastery of all those tasks which are entrusted to the civil defense forces," the order emphasizes.

STRONG WINDS, SNOW CAUSE POWER FAILURES, DAMAGE

AU131305 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 81 p 2

[ND/ADN report: "Storm Gusts Cause Damages in Several Bezirke: Local Power Supply Disrupted; Snowdrifts"]

[Summary] Berlin (ND/ADN)--"Storm gusts of wind, accompanied by snow, caused short circuits and damage to high tension power lines and other power transmission facilities in several regions of the GDR on Wednesday night. More than 37,000 consumers were affected in Rostock Bezirk, and some 110,000 had no power for about 1 hour around midnight in Schwerin Bezirk. Power outages also occurred in Gera, Halle, Leipzig and Magdeburg Bezirke.

Wind gusts with maximum speeds of up to 24 meters per second also hampered the handling of goods in ports and damaged the trolley wires of the Leipzig-Wurzen and Leipzig-Grosskorbetha railway lines. Operations also came to a halt in some surface mines of the Leipzig coal mining area, where gusts with top speeds up to 28 meters per second interrupted power supplies to excavators. Short term interruptions also occurred in removing the overlay at the Zwenkau and Peres surface mines. Coal extraction and overlay removal at the Delitzsch southwest surface mine was interrupted until the early morning hours.

Thawing and rain in the last few days resulted in a higher water level of the Elbe River in the Dresden area on Wednesday. It rose 50 centimeters within 48 hours, and in the morning reached a watermark of 5.26 meters. It was necessary to close to traffic the street on Dresden's Terasse bank, as well as a sector of long distance road No. 6 under the Elbe bridge at Meissen.

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN CP DELEGATION--On Monday a MSZMP delegation led by Janos Brutyo, chairman of the MSZMP Central Control Commission, arrived in Berlin at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. On the same day Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission at the SED Central Committee, conducted a friendly exchange of views and experiences with the delegation of the fraternal Hungarian party. He gave an account of the SED's extensive work in preparing the 10th SED Congress as well as of the tasks and work methods of the SED Control Commission. Participating in the meeting, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, were Heinz Juch, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, and Ambassador Dr Bela Szalai. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Feb 81 p 2 AU]

POLISH EMBASSY OFFICIALS EXPLAIN ECONOMIC REFORMS

LD122256 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Officials from the Polish Embassy have given an account of the Polish draft plan for economic reform at the Polish Cultural Center in Budapest. Andras Domany now gives a summary of what he heard:

Polish society has high hopes about overcoming the social and economic crisis which has been growing for years and about creating the preconditions for the further socialist development of People's Poland. A thorough reform of the economic system will be an essential element of this program. This was said at a press briefing, given by officials of the Polish Embassy in Budapest, about the concepts of the economic reform.

It will be recalled that a committee was formed last fall and that it then submitted its proposals for a nationwide debate at the end of the year. The substance of these is as follows: the strategic role of central planning must be strengthened and central organs should deal with long-term concepts, industrial policy, the creation of conditions, the work of regulation and the direction of foreign trade. Elsewhere enterprises must carry out their economic activities independently, without operative intervention from above. However, they must do this economically because loss-making enterprises will be closed down. Prices, the credit policy, the methods of basic training, material interests and employment policy--that is to say the means of economic regulation--must play the leading part in the management of enterprises.

The Polish experts said that in the course of the drafting of the program they had endeavored to take into account the experiences of other socialist countries, among them those of Hungary. However, it would be difficult to state at present what the economic and political preconditions of this reform are likely to be. Foreign indebtedness, the mass of unfinished investment projects, an income of Z150 million which is over and above the supply of goods, and the political sensitivity of the population with regard to the otherwise very necessary alteration of the system of consumer prices--all these are factors that make the introduction of the reform more difficult. Most of the questions put by the journalists referred to these topics.

The answer was as follows: naturally, the current economic situation is decisive. However, the so-called small reform designed to lessen the rigidity of management, which was introduced at the beginning of the year, is already providing some help. There is also talk of a 3-year stabilization plan. This is because no new Polish 5-year plan for the period 1981-85 has been prepared.

SIGNS OF U.S. INTERFERENCE IN POLAND CITED

LD122122 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Excerpts] The Polish question also figures in the letter sent by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state.

The spokesman of the U.S. secretary of state changed his earlier statement concerning Poland yesterday. The spokesman said in connection with the appointment of Army General Jaruzelski as premier that Washington regards the role of the Polish Armed Forces in the current events as an internal matter. Later, however, obviously under instruction, he said the following: if the Poles were to use force under the present circumstances, we could not remain indifferent to such a development.

I think this provides sufficient illustration in itself for Gromyko's statement that there are U.S. endeavors to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland.

MSZMP'S KADAR RECEIVES RCP SECRETARY BANC

AU122042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Budapest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 20, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the CC of the HSWP, received Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of delegation of the CC of the RCP now in Hungary.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the lasting relations of friendship, solidarity and multilateral cooperation between the RCP and the HSWP, between Romania and Hungary.

The joint wish was reaffirmed to act for the expansion of the cooperation between the two parties, for the intensification of the collaboration between Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic in the political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural and other domains of mutual interest of cooperation and specialization in production.

Views were also exchanged on major international questions of mutual interest.

The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between Nicolae Ceausescu and Janos Kadar.

MEHES DISCUSSES ROLE OF NEW INDUSTRY MINISTRY

AU130806 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Feb 81 p 3

[Report on address by Lajos Mehes, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of industry, at a 9 February national conference of directors and party and trade union committee secretaries of enterprises directed by the Ministry of Industry: "The Tasks of Industry and the Ministry of Industry"]

[Text] To begin with, the minister reported on progress made in establishing the new ministry and developing organizational and substantive aspects of its operation. He said that the Council of Ministers has designated the personnel of the Ministry of Industry to include 650 people, approximately half as many as the personnel of the three previous ministries [incorporated into the Ministry of Industry]. To date, 546 of them have received their letters of assignment to work at the Ministry of Industry (including 528 from the staff of the previous ministries) and it is intended to employ, for the time being, only 14 more people. As for the rest, he said, we strove to enforce the principle that everyone should be taken care of diplomatically, according to their ability, and humanely.

Lajos Mehes then spoke about the reasons for establishing the ministry. He said that the organization of a homogeneous industrial direction was made possible primarily by the development of the system of economic direction to date and made necessary by having to resolve the problems, worries and contradictions that arose in the course of its operation. He spoke in detail about the changes of epoch-making significance as a result of which Hungarian industry has attained its present internationally recongized standard.

In the past 2 years, he said, we have made considerable progress in attaining the fundamental objectives of our reform of directing activity. However, product-money correlations, the actual interplay of values, still have not been properly grasped either by leaders or the masses. Nor has enterprise independence and the responsibility it involves sufficiently developed and, therefore, central direction is not effective enough either. Enterprise independence is greatly limited by the decisions of the central organs of direction and supervision and that lessens responsibility for the consequences of decisions.

Under these circumstances, enterprises were protected more than was necessary for the effects of the changes that took place in conditions of management.

In the area of industry, all this has led to the fact that enterprise profit ratios failed appropriately to manifest differences in efficiency and that many ad hoc decisions slackened interest in profit and, therefore, enterprise profits were not differentiated according to performance and also individual incomes became excessively uniform.

Homogeneous Direction

Consistent enforcement of the fundamental principles of reform was hampered also by the fact that excessively detailed intervention by the directing organs exempted the enterprises of responsibility, without, of course, the organs being able to assume that responsibility themselves. And because the ministries played too large a role in enterprise decisions, their supervisory activity also remained bureaucratic, in most cases formal. All this necessitated replacement of the old dispersed direction of industry with a new, concentrated homogeneous organization. Thus, what is involved is not merely a fusion of three portfolios, but more than that, a renewal of a higher degree of industrial direction. The new ministry does not intend to intervene in the previous detailed manner in the everyday life of the enterprises. However, what this involves is that enterprises must assume responsibility as well as the risk that goes with it.

The ministries must continue exercising their supervisory rights over the industrial enterprises from their establishment until their financial reorganization, provide for the accomplishment of central development programs, elaborate proposals concerning state investments if necessary and, in general, participate in implementing the government's program. In the area of industry, they must organize international relations and the coordination of plans.

In addition to old tasks, new ones await the ministry. Such tasks are, above all, developing a homogeneous industrial policy and fulfilling the function of economic organization of a strategic nature with regard to industry. It must participate in an initiative-making and creative manner in developing the economic regulators determining the economic conditions of industrial enterprises to enable regulators to ensure enterprise independence and incentive and dynamic development of well-managed enterprises and repression of those that do not produce good results.

The minister stressed that, under the given circumstances and conditions, the three previous ministries made an honest effort to fulfill their tasks. They did not lag behind, but the tasks have grown beyond the previous organization frameworks of direction.

The structure and working style of the incorporated ministry of industry must be learned as one goes along, continued the minister. New working methods and a working style are made necessary by the mere fact that the Ministry of Industry, operating with not quite half of the personnel of the old ministries, is obviously unable to undertake work in such a detailed manner as its predecessors.

Economic and Political Tasks

Discussing the significance of the Ministry of Industry for the people's economy, Lajos Mehes said that 27 percent of the people employed in the people's economy and 80 percent of the industrial workers--1.3 million people--are working in the sphere of the ministry's operation. The enterprises belonging to the ministry account for 48 percent of the gross national product, 83 percent of the people's economy's exports cleared in rubles and 65 percent of those cleared in dollars. The ministry performs the branch direction of 1,087 enterprises and, of these, supervises 388 directly. However, the quantitative proportions are not the most important ones, he continued. Much more important is the realization that by virtue of the position it occupies in the economy, the Ministry of Industry is fulfilling a significant role in building our economic and political system and socialism and is responsible for the material well-being and political consciousness of the majority of industrial workers, the people employed in industry. Thus, the joint work of party, state and social organizations plays a key role in the successful accomplishment of our tasks.

With reference to interrelations between political and economic subjects, the minister spoke mainly about the debates underway even today on the role of large and of medium and small enterprises. I am of the opinion, he said, that these debates and the measures implemented as a result of them are justified. We must take care that developing small and medium enterprises and supporting private small-scale industry should not be a passing fad, but that we should launch and sustain a process thoughout to its conclusion, in which economic efficiency must be the cardinal consideration. However, we must also see to it that the role of genuine and not artificially created large enterprises should not diminish, either. The role of the large enterprises, their personnel and the working people employed at them remains a decisive factor from the viewpoint of the stability and strength of the socdialist system and that of the production of the gross national product and the development of the equilibrium of the people's economy. It is a frequent occurance today that the political significance of large enterprises is considered apart from their profitability, the development of incomes at them and the efficiency of work. This outlook has not been tenable for a long time and will be even less so in the future.

Dwelling on the subject of long-term foreign economic policy and a product structure attuned to it, the minister stressed, among other things, that it is necessary to make enterprises more sensitive to market effects on the one hand and rely more on the initiative-making ability of the working people on the other hand. Socialist solutions must be found through which we will take optimal care of man.

Cadre work must also be regarded as a primary political task. Also here, attention should be centered more on performance. Assessments of the work of individual economic leaders, what they achieved, on the basis of an international comparison, should be regarded as decisive and not their ability to explain reasons for lagging behind. Economic leaders characterized by ingenuity, courage and flexibility are needed, leaders who take a constant interest in new things, look out to the world, know well how to organize and mobilize, appreciate material values and make others appreciate them and work hard and demand the same from others as well. The fate of the working people constitutes the meaning, faith and belief of socialist economic leaders. The socialist economic leader can only be happy together with a socialist community.

With Mutual Trust

In this connection, the minister broached aspects of factory democracy. We are convinced, he said, that we are among the first in the world in legal regulation of the frameworks of factory democracy. However, actual content lags behind potential. The competence and jurisdiction of leaders must be more rationally apportioned at enterprises. Enterprise leaders must openly represent the interests of the people's economy as a whole, including future--as against momentary--interests. It is necessary to take advantage of the potential and forums of factory democracy and compare different interests with each other at these forums. And also these forums should be employed to ensure that it becomes general practice that daily and weekly legal working hours be devoted to industrious work.

Dealing with relations between the ministry and enterprises, he emphasized that the ministry is not a representative of interests, but that its task is to ensure that the joint experiences of the branches belonging to it become prevalent in government work. It should not become lost in the vastness of efficacious daily matters, but devote itself to questions of industrial policy that concern industry as a whole and to creating the prerequisites necessary for their implementation.

Good understanding between the ministry and enterprises requires primarily mutual trust. They should realize that interests are never completely identical and, therefore, there never will be such an unclouded relationship between enterprises and directing organs as among fairy tale pixies.

Our goal should be to ensure, he said, that enterprises should be able to trust the ministries more, while the directing organs, including the Ministry of Industry, should be able to believe that enterprises strive to perform to the best of their ability.

Lajos Mehes discussed the immediate tasks of industry in the concluding part of his address. He analyzed the reasons for which industrial production decreased 1-2 percent in 1980. It happened primarily because of the fact, he said, that enterprises failed sufficiently to increase the bases of modern and competitive goods. But also the fact that prices included a higher profit than planned and failed to stimulate enterprises to greater efforts was instrumental in the shortfall.

A Plan of Qualitiative Development

The minister called attention to the fact that although the ratio of competitive products has increased, the change greatly varies per branch and even more per enterprise and, in its entirety, is not decisive and general enough. Under the new regulating system, the enterprises that change their structures favorably will be in a definitely more favorable position.

Dealing with industry's tasks this year, the minister singled out tasks aimed at restoring the equilibrium of the people's economy, primarily enhancing export capability and maintaining the attained standard of living. The available capacities and workforce make the planned 3-3.5 percent growth of industrial output realistic. However, that can only be attained on the basis of structural changes.

The Sixth 5-Year Plan, he continued, is a plan of qualitative development. The demand it imposes on all the working people of industry is that they improve the competitiveness of their products. This is necessary all the more because we sell more than three-quarters of the increased quantity of industrial products on external markets.

The enterprises' medium-term plans will be completed in the coming months. The major development trends of the plan concepts known to date, said Lajos Mehes, are identical with those endorsed in the plan for the people's economy. However, he called attention to the fact that enterprises in general set themselves smaller export increase objectives than necessary and often overestimate external investment sources. Planning value-related processes, he said, is the weakest area of planning activity. Price prognoses are underestimated and enterprises failed to pay enough attention to planning manufacturing costs and to working out means to reduce costs. The Ministry of Industry tries to assist in enterprise planning activity. To this end, guiding principles are issued and consultations held. The minister also called attention to the importance of the democracy of plan elaboration. It is a guarantee for the correctness and success of the plan, one that must not be underestimated, that enterprise collectives should acquaint themselves with in good time and should discuss and identify themselves with plans.

Difficult but inspiring tasks are awaiting us, the minister said in conclusion. We have multifaceted tasks, but both the political and economic prerequisites are at hand for their accomplishment. Enriched by last year's experiences, workers and technical workers are ready to fulfill the tasks. It is up to us, the leaders working in industry, to accelerate development through a better job of economic organization and continue industry's outstanding role to accomplish both production and social-political objectives in the people's economy.

BRIEFS

GDR YOUTH DELEGATION--Budapest, 11 Feb (MTI)--The delegation of the Federal Presidium of the Socialist German Youth left Hungary on Saturday. They held talks with the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary led by First Secretary Gyorgy Fejti and signed a protocol on further cooperation between the two organizations. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 11 Feb 81 LD]

GUCWA, BARCIKOWSKI, OTHERS SPEAK AT SEJM SESSION

Kania, Jablonski Attend

LD121436 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski has made a statement on the line of action his government is going to take to handle the Polish crisis. The statement came at the start of the second day of the full session of the Polish Sejm here today. The agenda also envisages a debate on the prime minister's statement and the draft plan and budget.

Present at the session are Stanislaw Kania and Henryk Jablonski.

Gucwa Speech

LD121654 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0934 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by ZSL Presidium President and Secretariat Chairman Stanislaw Gucwa to the 12 February session of the Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] May it please the chamber! The ZSL realizes that we are carrying out a change in the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers in circumstances dramatic for the state and nation. This is due to both a catastrophic economic situation and a complex internal political situation, perturbances which make a normal rhythm of work impossible. Every month, every day our economic situation deteriorates. At an accelerating pace we are heading for an ever narrower output. We are losing the confidence of our Eastern and Western economic partners. We are destabilizing the foundations of material existence in the future.

However, what is most dangerous is not the situation itself, which is indeed immensely dangerous, but the absence of universal appreciation of its seriousness in the community. We are facing a great state and national danger and despite this we have serious difficulties in integrating the community toward improving the situation. Every day the economy loses the material and financial bases of normal functioning. Despite this, labor discipline is deteriorating, productivity is falling, stoppages are on the increase.

Pressure continues regarding increased satisfaction of diverse material needs. We must be fully aware of the fact that, should we be unable to check the past few months' unfavorable trends in the economy, we will not only thwart opportunities for a social renewal, but we will also undermine the conditions of national and state existence.

The main objective of the renewal process is a far-reaching democratization of socio-political life through setting up a system of negotiations and partnership based on sound foundations. However, a situation where we would have a weak state, weak economy and only trade unions strong regarding pay and consumer demands, would constitute a degeneration of the system.

May it please the chamber! We are fully aware that Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski takes over this most responsible and difficult post in the state in a specific situation. Let us say openly that at present, at a time of such pressure, expectations and such dramatically complex conditions, this is not a post for the comfort of power. Comfort of power in Poland has come to an end. The motives for taking this job could only be patriotism and the will to serve actively the state and the homeland during this exceptionally complex period.

Civic honesty commands us to be fully aware of how difficult and complex is the balance sheet at the outset of the government of Premier Jaruzelski. The ballast of difficulties will burden our development for many more years. In 1980 our per capita revenue was not only 5 percent lower than in 1979, but it was also lower per capita than in 1976.

Despite the decline of social productivity in the past few years, the increase of wages has brought about a situation in which the market imbalance will reach this year a level approaching Z300 billion.

The failure to exploit the assets of production due to its unsuitable structure and stoppages is testified by the fact that in 1980 the lasting production assets were greater in comparative prices than the 1975 assets by over 40 percent while revenue was greater by only 8 percent. In order to exploit these assets we would need to obtain additional imports of raw materials, other materials, and energy. This is exceptionally difficult since the repayment of loans including interest already absorb all the revenue from export to the second payments zone.

Thus all imports from that zone depends on loans. We are also stepping up imports based on credit from the socialist countries. Cumulatively this creates a tremendous threat to our economy. We became a debtor whose future development is increasingly in the hands of creditors. These creditors can help us to pull out of the crisis, however, under one condition: that we be able to assist ourselves, that we create an adequate program to get out of the difficulties, that we stabilize the rhythm of work, that we normalize the political situation, that we restrict our failure to adapt consumption demands to the country's economic conditions. Otherwise we are heading for a violent regression of production and consumption.

Such is the outline of the opening balance sheet taken over by the new premier. Thus he takes over this post in the most difficult period of Poland's modern history. That is why he has the right to expect from the PZPR and the political parties, trade unions, and the entire community not only moral but active support in resolving the accumulated [word indistinct].

The ZSL will provide such active support. Today's appeal of the premier to the community for calm and work for order in the state should be regarded by us as the command of the moment.

May it please the house! Among the problems outlined in the premier's speech there are a few points that I would like to emphasize. We fully support his viewpoint regarding the great role of the community's trust in the authorities. We believe that at present it is not enough to have an economically adequate and correct program to pull out of the difficulties. It must be a program credible to the community, accepted by the society and supported by honest work.

As formulated by the premier in his speech, we also think that attaining an adequate degree of credibility in government measures is closely connected with consistently implementing the socialist renewal. We believe that Poland has no alternative to this renewal since only a democratic renewal in sociopolitical life, a reform of economic life and social support are the condition for pulling out of our profound economic and political crisis.

Submitting a full report to the public about the state of the nation's economy and creating institutionalized and clear-cut principles for negotiations on all spheres of relations between the administrative authorities and the trade unions, are a particularly urgent task. Without this we shall not avoid unnecessary conflicts and we shall be unable to neutralize irresponsible elements which are exploiting social unawareness. This will require speeding up the work in passing a law on trade unions, a law on agricultural and cooperative self-government, a law on people's councils. A law on enterprises and a law on planning will be important for legal procedure and for system changes in economic life. We shall want especially to speed up this work and we attach great importance to it in the Sejm.

We attach great importance to putting in order the way the central decisionmaking body functions in matters of the economy and in matters of changes to the economy's organizational structure. The government should ensure without delay that relations between administration and self-government, based on full partnership, are created. This requires changes in the status of voivodas and executive officers. It is worth stressing here that the renewal process is too slow in reaching the lower levels of the administrative apparatus. This is particularly evident at parish level.

May it please the house! Among the problems mentioned in the premier's speech and which constitute a program for immediate action the problem of market equilibrium is the most important. We consider an integrated approach to this problem to be necessary. It is vital to draw up a program for introducing gradual control of retail prices and a program for stabilizing money.

We hold this view that food shortage is the thing which worries the public the most. This can be traced back both to errors in economic policy and distortions in agricultural policy and also to the exceptionally unfavorable climatic conditions in 1980. We must be aware that to all intents and purposes there was no improvement in the 1975-80 period in the per capita consumption of animal produce despite doubling the imports of fodder compared with the previous 5-year period. At the same time we are entering, after the very bad year of 1980, a period of a downward trend in the production of hogs and cattle. Unless we do everything the economy in its present condition can do in the sphere of assistance for agriculture, then the negative trends in animal production could be very steep. We must remember it is the task of agriculture in the next few years not only to increase production for its own consumption needs but at the same time it has to considerably limit the import of grain and fodder crops. In 1980, $1,700 million were spent on these imports. Imported fodder crops account for as much as 45 percent of all fodder crops.

Specialists forecast that, on a world scale, the next few years will be marked by a worsening of food problems. We also have to take these forecasts into account by making agriculture our most important economic task. We must take this into account in particular in the 3-year stabilization program, in which the food complex must have absolute priority.

We are entering a difficult period. We shall be unable to afford many things but in this difficult period we must make sure that satisfying the food needs of the public is the most important task both from the social, health and also political point of view.

We estimate that agriculture is in a position to considerably increase production in the not-too-distant future. We consider potential reserves can be put in motion more easily in agriculture than in other industries. A radical improvement in the supplies of machinery, equipment and other means vital for agricultural production are a condition for this. In the 1981 plan, the amount of outlays for the food complex has been set at a level close to that in 1980. This sum is far removed from vital needs. It is difficult to make specific suggestions today when we are faced with the phenomenons of a drop in national income and investment. However, we must be aware in this house that we must take every opportunity to increase supplies to agriculture.

The credibility of the whole agricultural policy will depend on whether we create the material conditions for increased production, whether we create a barrier against the depreciation of money. The depreciation of money in rural areas is a great threat to the production activities of farmers. The activation of agriculture also depends to a large extent on the authentic restoration of self-government structures in rural areas. The once strong social movement in the countryside must be developed. A subjective and not instrumental--in other words an objective--outlook on agricultural requirements is necessary. We resolutely support the reconstruction of traditional self-government based on circles. At the same time, we can see many barriers standing along this road because the old bureaucratized structure remains in the (?system). These make the restoration of authentic self-government of agricultural circles more difficult.

However, the biggest difficulty is the activity of Rural Solidarity which, in the past few weeks, has been leading to a breakdown of the countryside, to the creation of a political struggle and to the creation of disarray in the social structures of the countryside. We hope the latest pronouncement of the Supreme Court will help to restore calm in the countryside and will make it possible to organize peasants' social activity on a broad scale around matters of greatest importance for the countryside and for which peasants have struggled. We have tried to formulate all these matters in a political document of the PZPR and the ZSL entitled "Guidelines for Agricultural Policy Affairs."

May it please the house! The government of Premier Jaruzelski is faced with an exceptionally difficult task. The complicated nature of the situation is the reason why every economic solution has many layers. There are not and cannot be conflict-free solutions at the present time. The government, in its day-to-day work, will encounter many dilemmas. At present, making a choice in the economy boils down to choosing the lesser evil.

The great responsibility facing the government results from the need to undertake profound [words indistinct]. We are all aware that treating the symptoms will not produce the expected results. We need to start treating the causes.

The causes are connected with far-reaching defects in the system of economic management. The great dilemmas facing the government are connected with great social problems of subordinating activities to immediate needs, which in many instances might be in contradiction to the long-term requirements of improving the economy. We must be aware that we are currently favoring consumption and the domestic market at the expense of investments and production imports, particularly investment imports. This must affect the increase in production assets and the limitations on reconstructing the previously installed... [sentence remains unfinished]

We must be aware that the restrictions on imports, which are subordinated to the current payment requirements, often stand in contradiction to the development of production, the development of exports and the long-term improvement in the balance of payments. It is our duty to make the public aware that a limit exists when subordinating economic decisions to the solution of immediate needs at the expense of the needs of the near future.

It is a great sociopolitical task to make the public aware of the economic situation which contains many which could be defined as portents of the future. Responsibility toward our children and future generations tells us that we must be open in the way we present this matter.

The serious duties facing the government are linked with the necessity to undertake many extreme measures. In the situation in which our economy has found itself no traditional means can be applied [words indistinct] the organism of our economy has gotten used to (?them) and became more immune.

Apart from that, we have now entered a situation whose dramatic character flows from the necessity for the solutions to be effective. There is no room for mistakes. The scope for errors of the government in the seventies has been enormously exceeded. The government is faced with the urgent need to decisively counter enemies and to make qualitative changes in our economy. The red tape characteristic of the old forms of economic administrative functionsis the main barrier to basic change. It is the task of the government to decisively counteract self-seeking forces and, in this extremely difficult period, to apply the rules which are subordinated to the interests of the whole community. The above comments show the complexity of tasks faced by the government of Premier Jaruzelski and indicate the need for decisive political and social support for its actions.

May it please the house! [Words indictinct] we must consider the external factor. This is playing an increasing role in the life of the whole nation. We owe the shape of our country and its place in Europe to the patriotism which united the whole nation in the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. We also owe them--and this should be said today--to the political thought of the Polish Workers Party and the forces of the left of the community which were cooperating with it, including the important role played by the peasant movement. The system of natural alliances with our neighbors, with the mighty Soviet Union, created a guarantee for our borders, made it possible to develop the trade and economic cooperation which was dreamed of and hoped for by the leading thinkers of our nation. By enormous [word indistinct] and work we have strengthened our place in Europe. Socialist Poland, as an important element of the defensive and economic system, has become an important factor in the balance on our continent. This entails certain duties, as nothing is given forever. In spite of the progress in detente achieved in the mid-seventies, peaceful coexistence has not become an irreversible process.

IN the constantly intensifying competition for access to sources of raw materials, food and a better place in the world, we must not forget that there exist forces which are interested in weakening our state, linking with this a calculation of change in the European order at the expense of our country. The precise circumstances in which our country has found itself, therefore, dictate that we accept the appointment at the present session of a government of national salvation, economic stabilization and socialist renewal.

May it please the house! The resolution of the eighth congress of our party states that the supreme issue of our political activity is the creation of social responsibility. Today, the [word indistinct] of that responsibility is to put a stop to every kind of activity intensifying economic chaos and social tension. We have the right to demand that. We have the duty to demand it of every citizen. But that is not enough. We must spread the conviction that rescuing the economy from crisis and the effecting of socialist renewal are not just a temporary matter of living and working conditions. They are also the supreme matter of the place and role of our country in the world, and therefore, a matter of the present day and the future, of the fate of our generation and the prospects for future generations. In this awareness, I would like once again to give an assurance that the ZSL will not spare any efforts for the successful implementation of the program presented by the premier. [applause]

Barcikowski Address

LD121536 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0956 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Deputy Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski delivered to the Sejm in Warsaw on 12 February--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, may it please the house!

At its present session the Sejm is making two very important decisions: It is making changes in the government and voting on the plan and budget for 1981, thus giving the new government the formal basis for its work this year. The fact that these two decisions are being made at the same time is significant and deserves to be stressed.

We have just heard the government statement made by the new premier, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. This statement, in my opinion, correctly describes the situation prevailing in our state, maps out general guidelines for resolving the existing difficulties and defines the government's short-term tasks. It appeals for the support of the Sejm, of active sociopolitical forces and of a patriotically inspired society. It announces the implementation of the line of agreement and seeks understanding of the present conditions, possibilities and magnitude of tasks facing the authorities and population alike. To reach a mutual understanding is indispensable, since without this we shall not achieve that unity of action of the great mass of citizens which is needed to improve the situation. To put it simply, the premier appealed for an accord, for the minimum time necessary for the government to carry out constructive work.

The PZPR Deputies Club thoroughly understands this necessity and will fully support the government in this.

It has been more difficult than ever to achieve this unity of action, since we have often encountered a willful political action aimed at undermining confidence in state authorities, including the government, trust in its good will and its ability to work effectively. Moreover, the enemies of the socialist state have created a pseudotheory of a society organizing itself to oppose the state and its authority. It is a wrong but also a dangerous theory, dangerous when the enemies of socialism are trying to use mass organizations to disrupt the state and weaken its decisionmaking and executive functions. In fact, what we are facing at present is an ideology of anarchy, the symptoms of which we must overcome in the interests of society as a whole.

The sense of responsibility and common sense of the people will be, I think, our ally here.

We counter the ideology of antistate activities with the concept of a state where conciliation and socialist renewal hold sway, a state based upon extensive self-government foundations that ensure a creative participation of citizens in solving matters important to them and to their biggest organization--their state. As far as each and every one of us who is familiar with the party line and the Sejm's program of legislative work is concerned, what is the direction of work aimed at perfecting the people's state and methods of governing? [sentence as heard] What we envisage is not counteraction but interaction among citizens, self-governing organizations, the Sejm and government. In light of the above, the interaction between the Sejm and the government acquires an even greater weight. Proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation, it is necessary to find realistic solutions, to define what we can and cannot afford today, although we may be able to afford it in the future when our work begins to yield the desired results. Today, more than at any other time, what we need is realism in searching for solutions, in getting ourselves out of the difficulties we are in, in expressing opinions on matters affecting this state and this nation. I find this attitude in the speech by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

I wish to make a certain personal remark. I have been taking part in the work of the Sejm for quite a long time now. I have been here both as a deputy and as a member of the government.

Especially over the past few years, we came to believe more and more that almost anything was possible, provided only that someone wanted it. I mean, if the Sejm wanted it and it was certain if the government itself wanted it. This mood, this attitude pushed us away too often from a proper assessment of our potential, leading us onto a path of wishful thinking. Naturally enough, our wishes failed to tally with reality. This left a residue of a kind of irritation in the Sejm-government relations, leading to clashes and misunderstandings. I am deeply convinced that precisely at this moment, when faced with this pile of real difficulties in our state, the government and Jaruzelski will find it essential to enjoy the wise support of the Sejm and a businesslike attitude by the Sejm toward the government based on reality. At the same time, the Sejm must have the conviction, confirmed by facts, that the government is doing its very best to improve the sociopolitical and economic situation, to implement the reforms and improve the work of administration. It will then be easier to build public understanding of what is and what is not realistic and of how one is to go about working for a state of affairs in which expectations really do become reality. Both the Sejm and the government face a great deal of work in order to attain this state of affairs.

Today, adopting the 1981 socioeconomic plan, the Sejm closes a period of very intensive work on the plan and the budget. As never before, this plan was subjected to a detailed verification by the Congress Commission. Like the government, the Sejm commissions had to face a dilemma: How is one to ensure the implementation of the state's material obligations arising from the August agreements as well as expenditures for the country's development, given a limited national income, lower than in the past years?

That is why the plan, in its final shape, is--and one has to say this openly--the result of numerous compromises. One also has to state openly that social considerations took priority more often over economic arguments or possibilities, where detailed solutions are concerned. Given the limited potential for increasing material output, given the fast growth in the incomes of the population, it was not possible to safeguard market equilibrium in the plan. Budget expenditures grow faster than state income. This made evident the fact that budgetary equilibrium was not reached either. This is proof that the obligations we have taken upon ourselves overstep the current economic potential. This, beyond any doubt, is a (?fact). The budget itself opens up many difficult problems which will arise during its implementation. Due to this fact, I regard the talks with the trade unions, proposed by the premier, as very important, for they can make a big contribution to improving our situation. There inevitably arises the question: What conditions must be fulfilled so that implementation of this plan upon which the population's standard of life depends can take place in accordance with the provisions? The elementary condition is to safeguard public calm and normal working.

With the scale of tension occurring in the economy--all stoppages--the difficulties have to become more profound. They have an outright destructive effect on productivity; regardless of the direct material losses which they bring, they additionally weaken production discipline and break or weaken (?economic) links.

The lack of social equilibrium also weakens--and there has been talk of this here--Poland's standing as a partner in international cooperation and exchange, worsening her access to the sources of credit, the sources of raw materials and so on, and so on. The consequences of this are downright menacing for the possibilities of importing the needs of production envisaged in the plan we are to approve today.

The next problem of prime importance is to cover the fuel and energy requirements. Here once again, we find confirmation of the enormous significance of coal mining in our economy. During the long drawn-out discussion in the Sejm, a formula of registration in the plan has been found for the level of coal extraction this year. The problem of bringing current extraction up to a level which guarantees implementation of the amounts declared for implementation this year remains open, however.

The talks with the mine workers until now are only bringing partial results. We think the Sejm should support government activity by appealing to the mine workers to do everything which is essential to guarantee the vital stocks of coal for the economy.

After the profound fall in agricultural production last year, we are facing enormous problems with supplying the market with foodstuffs. The import of fodder had to be increased considerably, as did the import of ready-made food products. The program of price increases for procuring agricultural produce is currently being introduced in order to increase the material interest of farmers in rebuilding production and to minimize the unavoidable threat to livestock production this year caused by lack of fodder. All the greater significance now accrues to supplying agriculture with the means of production before and during the agricultural season; in order to create the material premises for an increase in agricultural foodstuffs production in (?1982).

The plan envisages considerable support for agriculture in investment outlays, but their implementation will, of course, be dependent on the scale of material supplies. This must be attended to. A still open question is the as yet unclarified import possibilities which have a fundamental effect on the extent of domestic production.

In Poland's present payments situation, our cooperation within CEMA increases all the more. It is from there that we import the majority of our raw materials. We must, however, take into account that if our [word indistinct] does not meet its obligations over a longer period, as a result of a drop in production, this may be reflected in the amount of supplies to us. As in all agreements, here too the principle of reciprocation is binding and this is seriously violated by our side today.

All these problems, these and others, will require the government's constant attention during the implementation of the plan. The government will not be able to do much if it is not supported in its striving and intentions by the organizations of working people and by the working people themselves. What is at stake is a common, social interest and, in face of that, no one can remain indifferent.

In this year's plan, the changes in the state's economic policy of a more long-term significance, have found reflection. This is evident, above all, in the allocation of investment outlays with a very serious decrease in investment assets, the share of outlays on agriculture and the food economy, and on housing construction and the communal economy increases. This corresponds to the striving to protect sectors which are vitally significant for the population's living conditions. The success of these intentions depends, however, on social support, mainly [word indistinct] the building constructor with supplies of materials etc, etc.

Spending on the health service, education and culture--sectors which have clearly been underfinanced in previous years, has also been increased.

Giving thought to this year's socioeconomic tasks, we are bound to note that 1981 should be a year of transition, of dealing with changes in our system. First decisions on decentralization of management will come into force this year. These will give the voivodships a greater role to play in shaping local economy.

First steps have been taken in the direction of simplifying planning in enterprises and giving them greater independence. A great debate is underway on the draft reform of our economy and management. Also under preparation are numerous bills--and comrade premier has mentioned them--which should reach the Sejm very soon. They will provide the legal basis for engaging our citizens in all forms of management, in all forms of self-government. The trade union bill which is being prepared will provide the legal regulation of this important area of legal relations.

In this way, what is gradually emerging is an outline for a socioeconomic system which corresponds to the process of socialist renewal in our country. The PZPR attaches great importance to progress in this field and in this direction. I would like to state that the PZPR Deputies' Club will vote in favor of changes in the composition of the government announced by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Jaruzelski, and in favor of the draft plan and budget as presented by the deputy speaker in the matter of plan and budget. [applause]

SD Chairman on Situation

LD121728 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1010 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee Tadeusz Witold-Mlynczak at 12 February session of Sejm--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, may it please the house! The speech by Citizen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, reflected accurately and openly the current political and socioeconomic situation of the country. It touched on the most vital matters affecting our nation and our socialist state--People's Poland. It confirms the line of socialist renewal. I am totally convinced that what the citizen premier stated in his expose will reach the hearts and minds of every person capable of rising above the wave of prejudice and emotion, everyone able to assess the facts with caution and sober-mindedness, everyone who has mastered the skill of thinking in terms of superior interests--those of the state. Citizen deputies! At the moment, this happens to be an essential virtue of Polish patriotism.

It is against this backcloth that, on behalf of the SD Deputies' Club, on behalf of more than 100,000 members--intelligentsia, those employed in the sphere of services, small-scale manufacturing industries and handicrafts, I wish to outline the position of the Democratic Party regarding the situation in the country, our position regarding the nation's most vital interests, a position arising from concern for the fate of the fatherland. It is our own viewpoint, the point of view of SD activists, concerning the events that have taken place and are taking place in the country.

This point of view is not devoid of concern and fears in case the most important issue--that of the country's and nation's security--should be lost from view in the general trend toward our national catharsis. The position taken by the SD Deputies' Club is the sum total of experiences, criticism and discussions that took place among our ranks during the current precongress campaign. Voices heard during this campaign are voices full of reproach, and not infrequently anger as well, about the public fervor that has been lamentably wasted, about the frustration of enthusiasm and creative potential of numerous communities, about the fact that public opinions and voices have been ignored, about arbitrariness in managing and governing, about mistakes that have been made, about the fact that the country has been led to the brink of catastrophe.

At the same time, in most cases, concern can be detected for tomorrow, so that mistakes of yesterday are not repeated.

What predominates is awareness that not a single one of us Poles will shirk responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. We have here the will for the continued socialist development of Poland within the family of socialist states, for the durability of alliances and cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community.

May it please the house! At the 21st plenary session of the Central Committee we assessed the crisis being experienced by our country. We analyze the situation in the country at all sessions of the Central Committee Presidium.

We are presenting our attitude toward it and our point of view on surmounting the difficulties during the currently held voivodship congresses. The gist of this assessment is the statement that the most serious source of the current difficulties is the continuing crisis of confidence between the authorities and the community.

The task of all patriotic forces, first of all the political parties, including ourselves--the Democratic Party activists--is to restore this confidence. There is only one road leading to this objective. It is consistent implementation of the social contract, support for the processes designed to achieve a renewal of life and realization of democracy. This will be conducive to strengthening the socialist state. On the other hand, all social conflicts should and must be resolved by political means.

In this work, we will consolidate and strengthen the interparty cooperation with the PZPR, the leading force of the nation, and with the ZSL. As a political party we support all those forces which work sincerely and consistently for the democratic process of renewal. At the same time, we will firmly oppose all conservative and extremist groups which hamper this process and disturb it by threatening the socialist renewal. The intentions of those guiding the people are greatly important but much more important are the consequences of their actions for the country.

This is our criterion for assessing the sincerity of the actions of individual groups, associations and people. It is necessary to utilize all possibilities in order to speed up the implementation of the August agreements. Where this is being made impossible by economic conditions of the state, it is necessary to embark openly on new negotiations. The state of our economy is critical. For another year there was an increased decline in national revenue.

This year has begun very badly, too. Consequently, the SD Deputies' Club looks at the draft state plan and budget in this light. We realize the shortcomings. We have expressed this in the Sejm during committee work. No doubt it will be necessary to make appropriate amendments during the year. We will play our part in this. Today, acceptance of the plan and budget is a necessity for our state since the economic situation calls for speedy and determined action, for joint effort of all forces of the nation. Only joint, intensive work can open for us the path leading out of the crisis.

We must all realize the high degree of difficulties confronting our nation and state. Thus, as SD activists, we have adopted an unequivocal attitude toward the argument recently abused in social feuds in the form of strikes. In our opinion, the continued trend toward inciting strikes for any reason indicates a straight pass to economic and social suicide.

We, as a political party, want to convey this truth to, and impress it on, the minds of not only the members of our party but also the population as a whole.

Citizen deputies, in one month we shall hold the 12th SD Congress. We shall assess our work and adopt a program for future action. This program will be based on criticism formulated by our activists, but also on many constructive proposals concerning future action which deal with fundamental work, future development and existence [as heard].

The main idea behind all of our actions, is to implement democracy in our socialist state. The idea stems from our entire tradition and is being developed by the future [i rozwija ja przyszlosc]. Translating democracy into reality is necessary for the secure and undisturbed [niezaklocony] life of the nation. This is also a fundamental condition of progress, a warranty of full cooperation between the authorities and the population. We must at present liberate the sphere of cooperation between authorities and society from the false interdependence which can best be expressed by the slogan: The authorities give, the population demands. Without getting rid of this idea we shall achieve nothing.

It is a task of political parties and the administration to give society an honest assessment of the situation, to show the factual state of affairs and to give a concrete plan of action. This was expressed in the statement made by the citizen premier in his 10-point program. One must continue on this road in order to (?regain) social confidence and rebuild cooperation between authorities and society.

I would like to quote here one of the founders of our movement, Prof Stanislaw Kulczynski, who years ago appealed to state authorities and political parties to use the language spoken by the population. I am quoting: One must tell the truth to the population, always the truth, and one should teach the population to discern truth. To tell the truth today means to say how difficult the situation of the country is at present, how difficult and long the way is for getting out of the crisis. Demagogy, myths and illusions are nothing but an easy way to escape from a difficult reality. This ought to be alien to our society.

We need a conscientious struggle for honesty of principles and norms of behavior, for improving social relations, even at the cost, as it was once defined by Stefan Zeromski, who was many years ago the conscience of the nation [sumienie norodu], of opening the wounds so that they do not heal with a scar of ignominy. This, citizen-deputies, is an important task to which we, the members of the Democratic Party, shall be true, cooperating as an allied party in implementing the program of socialist renewal.

Moczar on Economy

LD121906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1115 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Mieczyslaw Moczar, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, before Sejm session, 12 February--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, esteemed chamber! Speaking in the discussion by reason of holding the post of chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], I would like first of all to draw citizen-deputies' attention to one of the most important, in my opinion, issues which up to the present has not always been appreciated and which has often even found itself on the fringes of our economic life: namely, the problem of the reserves which occur almost universally in all sectors of the national economy. We have an exceptionally large amount to do in this respect and, to be precise, to catch up on. It is misleading to suggest that in order to find a way out of the crisis we can continue to increase our debts. This is not the way to make our economy healthy. We must first of all do everything possible at home. We must protect and mobilize what has been motionless up to now in order only afterwards possibly to count on seeking the proper help from outside. Without that, it will undoubtedly be difficult for us.

The appeal by the premier for 90 days of calm will, I am convinced, be taken up by every sensible Pole. I am even sure of that because 1981 will be, as we know, immeasurably difficult for us.

The Supreme Chamber of Control, examining the course of implementation of the socioeconomic plan and state budget, will attempt to give current information on the weaknesses still occurring at individual levels of management.

We have found great neglect which has arisen not only for objective reasons, although we do not lack those, too, as we know, but for reasons simply stemming from particular people.

Listening to the statements by deputies, by the deputy-speaker and other deputies, it emerges that there are many items in the proposed plan for 1981 indicating a lack of certainty on complete balancing, regarding the month of January. Some of them even give rise to doubts as to the full possibilities of their implementation. This is a truth which one must go to meet halfway in a sensible and mobilized way.

To the statements by citizen-deputies, considering what measures should be taken to improve the situation in individual sectors of the national economy, I would like, on the basis of the findings emerging from controls, to make some comments of my own. So, I believe that to ensure to the highest degree in the present stage the implementation of the Economic Plan, one has to take advantage of the experience possessed and, above all, ruthlessly eliminate all organizational paralysis which occur in individual sectors of the national economy and at every level of management. Paralysis can occur for various reasons which can be identified, and attempts should be made to have these reasons removed without delay. I stress without delay, because our activity suffers from dilatoriness in the national economy.

It emerges from the comrade premier's expose that the curing of that illness will be more thorough and more rapid.

May it please the house! To provide a few examples I will deal with some results from control which are characteristic of our reality, since the elimination of irregularities brought to light by control can no doubt contribute to a more efficient implementaion of the plan discussed today. The control of attainment of the planned output capacity by our industrial projects handed over for use has revealed that the delayed achievement of production capacity has caused an increase in the production deficit on a national scale from Z7.8 billion in 1976 to some Z35.3 billion in 1980. Thus, an increase of more than fourfold.

Delays in this field have been caused by handing over every third project in an unfinished state. Receipt of these projects has been taking place without properly checking their actual readiness for exploitation. Accepting transfers in this way testifies to the lack of sense of responsibility and professional ethics, in particular concerning persons forming part of the commission receiving investment projects. Personally, I believe that this should never be repeated. The controls carried out in industry have also revealed an incomplete utilization of the basic means of production.

It is sufficient to mention that during the years 1976-79 the technical armament of labor has gone up by 47 percent. That means that the value of durable assets has increased by nearly one-half in industry. It has also been considerably modernized.

The question comes to mind: To what degree are we exploiting this expanded and modernized production potential? The answer emerges from materials in the possession of NIK: insufficiently; in fact, badly. Indicative of this is the incomplete exploitation of some very expensive machine tools, technological line plants, many of them imported, which amount in very extreme instances to some 80-50 [as heard] percent of the nominal two-shift working hours and sometimes even 20 per cent and less.

The irrational utilization of durable means of production has also been expressed by increased stocks of machines and investment plants. As a result of our control the government has dealt with this matter on several occasions. I also mentioned this during the Sejm debate on 21 November 1980. Despite this, the estimated value of these kinds of plants and machines amount, on an annual scale, for the whole country, to some Z30-50 billion. That means that it is permanently increasing.

The citizen-deputies know but I am repeating it yet again , that the maintenance of substantial reserves of unexploited machines and plants and long periods of storage have been caused to a great extent by the failure to adapt the schedule for construction work to the schedule for delivery of machines and plants, in particular from imports.

These purchases were often accompanied by lightheartedness, simple lack of responsibility. This problem assumes special importance in view of the need for a drastic restriction of outlays for investments during the next few years. Anyway, a great deal has been said about it here.

There are also big reserves in the sphere of cooperative links. In the control checks carried out in 1979 and 1980, and even earlier, we found many negative, very negative phenomena. The general violation of the discipline of coperation supplies--I emphasize, it is general--must rank among the most glaring irregularities in this field. Others include the untimely and incomplete implementation of agreements, poor quality of supplies, avoidance of concluding agreements, or else unilateral abrogation of these agreements. It has very often been the case that poorly-planned reorganizational measures in industry have led to the breaking of cooperative ties that have taken many years to establish! For instance: The handing over of the Chrzanow locomotives works from the association of the railroad rolling stock manufacturing industry to the association of the construction machines industry; ot the division of the Unitra Association of the electronic industry into two separate divisions, despite the fact that they had been merged a few years before. As transpires from the control checks and experts opinion, insufficient utilization of the reserves that exist in our industry happens to be one of the equally important factors in starting up and developing the production of new goods. Were they utilized, cooperative output could be increased, and the production sector would have less need for imports. These phenomena can be observed in particularly bold relief in the starting up of the production of color tubes and television sets, tractors built on license and elsewhere.

The NIK has carried out many control orders on the field of cooperative production. Recently, in October 1980, the government passed a resolution on this issue. It regulates the issue in a comprehensive manner. The fact, however, that progress attained by industrial ministries in implementing this resolution is clearly food for thought. To say incommensurate is to put it very mildly indeed. As a result it has not been found possible to reach complete agreement on cooperative supplies for the year 1981. For instance, in the heavy and agricultural machines industry, even today we still have 720 points of difference, including 462 points which have not been accepted for implementation at all. We have a similar situation in the engineering industry. Therefore it is not difficult to foresee that phenomena of this kind do not promise us anything good this year, unless they are liquidated forthwith.

Bearing in mind the comrade premier's speech, I will say that it is known that the proper utilization of the land is the fundamental condition for increasing agricultural output. Our country has large reserves. For instance, we can utilize more than 750,000 hectares of the state land fund which have so far been tilled badly, or, to be more precise, have not in fact been tilled at all. This is what we have on our books: 750,000 hectares. How many more do we have? It is difficult to say. Too many hectares of high quality agricultural land are still being given to nonagricultural purposes or are being split up. Considerable quantities of land have been handed over for the purposes of summer vacation and leisure facilities. NIK has been in touch with the premier regarding this issue. We have substantial reserves in our seed procurement industry, in improving agricultural technology, proper introduction of fertilizers. Bearing in mind the fact that this year we shall have less fertilizers than planned, the matter is all the more urgent for that.

The agricultural service, in the full meaning of the word is not fulfilling its duties adequately: agronomists, doctors, veterinary surgeons, zootechnicians, land improvers and so on and so on, many people in fact. The agricultural service has not presented a report yet to anyone for the year or on the sowing or harvesting campaign. For many years insufficient supplies to agriculture of basic agricultural equipment were the object of great neglect. The fulfillment of the 5-year plan for the 1976-80 period regarding the supplies of equipment will cover, as everyone present here knows, about 65 percent of the needs of agriculture. The shortage of spare parts, tires and storage cells is worsening the level to which the existing tractor and machinery fleet is being exploited.

I would like to remind you that the retreading of tires has been discussed on several occasions at the ministerial level. In 1978 the government even passed a special resolution on this matter. Unfortunately, this resolution did not produce the effects hoped for because full conditions for implementing this resolution were not created. This is why still in Poland barely about 9 or 10 percent of tires are retreaded, whereas in countries which are considerably richer than us, for instance France and the FRG, this figure is as high as 40 and 50 percent.

Considerable reserves are also to be found in the incorrect functioning of transportation. For several years now the number of railroad cars not in use has been rising. Over the past 2 years the number of cars awaiting repair has increased by close to 100 percent. In 1980, up to the end of December, 46,000 cars were awaiting repair. Divide this by 52 cars in a train and you get about 1,000 trains.

The results of checks carried out justify the need to immediately undertake actions aimed at increasing more quickly the production-repair capacities of the technical base for overhaulling freight cars. This matter must be resolved this year if we are to seriously treat the role of transportation in the national economy. The attitude to date on this matter threatens us quite simply with ruin.

A common phenomenon in motor vehicle transportation, in both public and industrial and economic transportation, is the exclusion from use of a large part of motor vehicle rolling stock as a result of a shortage of storage cells and tires. At enterprises this is as much as almost 50 percent of the total fleet. The difficult situation in transportation means management is worsening the transportation complications not only in industry but also throughout our agriculture. It must be expected that the government will fully execute the implementation of resolutions passed on these matters and this is necessary in just the same way as is oxygen.

A few remarks now on foreign trade: Both the results of checks carried out as well as statistical data point to the fact that the effectiveness of our exports, particularly to the capitalist countries, is systematically becoming worse. The reasons for this are to be found not only in the insufficient quantities of good and modern goods able to compete effectively on world markets, although this is important, too. The reasons are also to be found in the fact that we are unfortunately producing increasingly less for export.

In January we produced, as is known, 4 percent, that is one twenty-fifth of the plan, when the month of January calls for one-twelfth. Also, one cannot fail to mention the fact that the activity of foreign trade enterprises was negatively affected by the organizational decisions made in the seventies, as a result of which one-half of the total number, perhaps even more than one-half of the foreign trade enterprises, were transferred to the control of the industrial ministries. This caused an increase in the number of organizational steps on which decisions were made, as well as an increase in employment, a weakening of financial discipline, a considerable increase in business travel abroad, which on average in 1 year, just in the capitalist countries' sector, amounts to over 80,000 people. Of course, some are going there two or five times.

As far as the matter of servicing machinery and equipment which has been sold [to foreign countries] and is now malfunctioning, this has caused the departure of a dozen or so thousands of employees from the industry. Considerable doubts are raised by the selection of people who are not always well-prepared as regards their qualifications and who subsequently do not produce the expected results but just, by the very nature of the process, increase the cost of the transactions entered into. As an example, I shall just quote the matter of business travel connected with the construction of paper factories in Kwidzyn, which caused an increase in the cost of the contract by 750,000 Canadian dollars. This is just for the business travel, the unnecessary travel.

Checks also have shown many shortcomings and irregularities in the functioning of foreign [joint] companies. These companies have a share of Polish capital in them; they were established mainly to accelerate the development of Polish exports. It is known that in the foreign trade [words indistinct]. Such are the laws of the trade.

Some of these companies did not concentrate on developing and improving the effectiveness of exports, but mainly on getting involved in imports to our country. As a result, their activity had to bring about serious foreign currency losses for the Polish side, of course. Such companies as [name indistinct] are known. This company produced for the Polish side losses of about $20 million, [words indistinct] of Ursus-(?Bison) in Denmark, which caused a loss of about $14 million, and so on.

May it please the house. In spite of the expansion of the milk industry, the available production capacities are about 20 percent lower than the existing demand in the peak periods of milk deliveries. This leads to the fact that a considerable amount of a precious raw material is not used for food processing purposes or even leads to its waste. The universal lack of machinery for cooling milk at farms, faulty organization of transportation and the shortages of chemical means for washing and disinfection do not allow the required hygiene for production to be maintained and cause incredibly bad quality in milk products. As a result, I shall not quote percentages, but it is enormous: last year an enormous quantity of milk products passed to the retail trade were substandard. Here there are no excuses such as [word indistinct] untidiness which must be punished without exception.

There is a similar situation in the meat industry. It is true that a number of modern meat-processing combines have recently been built, with a great amount of slaughtering going on. At the same time, the importance of small slaughterhouses has been underestimated, as well as local processing meat plants, which in turn has led to their liquidation. This was felt in particular in the periods of seasonal peak deliveries of animals for slaughter, causing bottlenecks at the points of purchase and meat-processing plants. The losses caused by animals which died before slaughter or lost weight and such things is estimated to be about 20,000 to 30,000 tons of meat per year.

There also exist here other reserves which can be put to good effect without any investment outlay, but simply on the basis of organizational decisions or adjustments: What is required is good thinking and dedication to duty. An example of this can be found in the wasteful use made up until now of meat obtained from animals slaughtered from surplus stock not required for further breeding. Agricultural farms find it very difficult to divert these animals for slaughter, mainly because of the small number of slaughterhouses authorized to carry out slaughter on sanitary grounds. As a result, the selected animals are frequently transported to destinations far away, slaughtered only some two or three or even more days later and consequently are fit only to be processed for bonemeal.

Solution of these problems is the responsibility of the Ministry of the Food Industry and Purchases and does not require any additional investment of resources but only flexible organization.

Investigation of the production of medicines and national supplies of pharmaceuticals, carried out in 1978-80, revealed that the number of medicines which have failed to reach chemists' shops and hospitals had increased four-fold. I shall not repeat what the public has to say on this delicate issue. We all know it very well. Investigation has revealed that urgent measures can be taken. Such measures can show results as early as this year in the development of the production of medicines. I am thinking of the need to resume the production of certain pharmaceutical components which are not being made at this time for various reasons, but mainly because of the faulty system of prices which depends on obtaining raw materials from abroad.

In 1977-80, the production of 31 kinds of goods for the pharmaceutical industry was given up. Today we are importing 29 of these. A few years ago we did not do this. Also in the pharmaceutical labor cooperatives, the production of about 60 chemical substances was curtailed in 1977-78. These were component substances for the stomach, heart, [word indistinct] and other medicines. These matters should be reconsidered today from the point of view of resolute elimination of imports.

There are more opportunities for better use being made of natural raw materials accessible at home through the expedient of increased production and procurement of herbs which enjoy a long tradition in Poland.

In addition, there is the problem of utilizing imported, but at present stored, medicinal components, the value of which is today in excess of Z1.1 billion. This equals, let us say, $10 million, whereas we are short only $1.5 million worth of medicinal components. This is a grave problem which should be dealt with prudently. We simply do not have $1.5 million to add to $10 million worth of stocks, nor can we afford to allow $10 million to lie without doing anything.

An unpardonable error was made, as is well-known, when the administrative reform was carried out in our country. This consisted of liquidating the local industry. On an annual scale, that industry used to contribute sought-after goods worth Z20 billion to our market. This untimely and indeed harmful decision was made possible by the conditions of euphoria which accompanied construction of the second Poland.

In 1979, the Council of Ministers decided and took several measures to reactivate local industry. So far, this industry has failed to give our national economy the output of goods so much in demand on the market. Hence the need for the central authorities to introduce appropriate incentives for those who are organizing the renewal of that industry. Let us hope that local authorities and the social aktivs will mobilize all their reserves and resources in the form of raw materials, half-finished products and so on for the reconstructing local industry, should it turn out that their locality would benefit by it.

Comrade premier, General Jaruzelski has mentioned this. What he said was an appeal to local authorities, and in my view this is a very important matter. When we speak about reserves in our national economy it is impossible to fail to notice the enormous possibilities which exist in the rational exploitation of the human factor and the potential of professional qualifications. Among problems still to be solved we must include poor organization and labor discipline, especially in the construction industry.

Investigation of 348 building sites has shown that there is a widespread failure to observe the principles of labour discipline. Very often, also, wrong organization resulting in effective use being made of working hours. Delays in commencing work have very often been as much as 20 and even 60 minutes, and breakfast breaks have lasted more than 1 hour or even longer than necessary.

Apart from the lack of discipline, I would like to point out the enormous waste of materials on building sites. Conditions for storing these materials have been outright culpably negligent and often resulted in damage and theft. The large-slab housing construction industry is wasteful of materials, using unjustified amounts of cement, steel and so on.

It is costing us too much to deal with faults and malfunctions in apartments being built; 23 construction enterprises suffered just last year, including December, losses of Z250 million on account of repairs. This kind of phenomenon, and I shall be quite frank comrades, does not occur in civilized countries.

More rational than at present use of personnel with higher education and especially highly-qualified technical and scientific staff, would be vitally important for improving the effectiveness of management. We who work for the NIK highly regard people and their contribution to economic development, technical progress and cultural development which they make for our country's development. We have very great respect for them.

I mentioned this during my meeting with World War II veterans because their ranks include many well-known and valued representatives from the world of science. I should also say that in the past conditions for properly using their knowledge for the needs of our economy and society had not been provided. Hence, even the most eminent scientists were too weak to widely develop their efforts for the benefit of our economy. This is (?an obvious truth). The following facts will prove this:

We have in Poland about 1,500 scientific and research and development institutions, of which 1,300 are operated by economic ministries. In relation to other countries, this is a vast number.

These establishments are employing more than 70,000 people with academic degrees and titles and higher education. The society is rightly interested in the results achieved by these institutions, which bear on the opportunities to export technological ideas and industrial goods of such technological standards that they can compete on world markets. The result of the work of these units, expressed in terms of the number of patents, for instance, unfortunately shows lack of progress in this domain: in 1978, 7,000 patent applications for Polish inventions; in 1979, 6,800; and in 1980, less than 6,200.

The applications abroad for patents of Polish inventions were as follows: 159 in 1979, and in 1981, only 138, that is, 13 percent less.

These figures are telling. What do they tell us? Well, I think that those involved know this best themselves, and they should think it over very thoroughly since they are the driving force for developing our fatherland.

Although I have spoken on the issue of buying licenses abroad and I spoke in my previous speech on their utilization, I must come back to the issue once more today, since the premier's decree of October 1980 is still awaiting implementation and there still is no analytic report on this issue. Neither the result of [word indistinct] of the very limited sale of our licenses has not been reported so far. It is known how many of them we have bought and how many we have sold. We have bought for billions and sold for peanuts [drobiazg].

We must seek the great reserves of our economy in improving the output of these centers by increasing our demands upon their scientific and technological staff and by eliminating administrative and organizational barriers which hamper progress in this domain.

I have outlined here only some of the problems where adequate utilization of reserves might contribute to the implementation of extremely difficult tasks contained in the socioeconomic plan for 1981.

We can assure the premier that we (?the ZBoWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] members) shall respond to this appeal for commonsense, for confidence in a better tomorrow.

To conclude, if it may please the house, I would like to add some words in connection with the tense situation which has existed in our country for several months, causing irritation and great impatience among all working people; and at the same time causing the astonishment of many societies in the world, which simply cease to understand us.

The attitude of our party toward people who care about the renewal of our socioeconomic life is a friendly one, as everybody knows. This was said at the seventh plenum; and at the eighth plenum Comrade Kania, in his speech on behalf of the Politburo, dwelt at length on the party's attitude toward people desiring a renewal. I shall quote here an important excerpt (?from it): Everybody accepted with satisfaction the progress of stabilization in December after the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. I also assumed in my speech that tomorrow would be better than yesterday. However, January brought a breakdown of this process which is so vital and this breakdown is still with us. It is a morally disconcerting thing that in Poland, which has the most difficult economic situation among all the socialist countries, there have occurred tensions and strikes, the aim of which is to reduce working hours. We judge positively the agreement between the trade unions and the government on this issue. But it was not workers' interests that gave rise to activities by the leading links of Solidarity, links which created tensions against this background. We talk about this with great concern. Our attitude toward changes in the trade union movement has been and is a sincere one, full of good will because this attitude arose from an agreement, above all, with the working class, which is our mainstay, the interests of which we serve and will continue to serve.

I have quoted this excerpt from the speech made by Comrade Kania at the eighth plenum because this is the stand of the Politburo and also because I want to say at the same time the same thing that Fredro [19th century Polish poet and playwright] said: While waiting for favorable winds one must also count on the fact that rubbish will rise into the air, too.

This rubbish is rising into the air. But this rubbish does not obscure for us what is going on in our people's republic.

Our party, just as the whole of society, requires renewal and requires this like oxygen. I personally know many people--including Solidarity organizers--who have entered the turmoil of renewal with precisely these intentions. This is also my hope because I personally believe that my point of view, as an old communist, on the renewal of our life will undoubtedly encounter a difficult point of view, because this is logical and also necessary. It is in this meaning of the word that I want to stress that the institution of which I am in charge, the Supreme Chamber of Control, will fulfill appropriately the duties imposed on it by the house. Thank you very much. [applause]

ZNAK Deputy for Rural Solidarity

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[Speech by Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Zielinski, "nonparty member of the ZNAK group," before the Sejm on 12 February--live]

[Excerpts] Mr Speaker, may it please the house, we have listened with attention to the statement made by the chairman of the Council of Ministers defining the main directions of the government's work.

We are satisfied to find that it will be a continuation of the line followed up until now on such a fundamental matter as the will to solve internal social tensions in the country by political methods and by carrying out a deep renewal in all sectors of Polish life.

This is expressed by the confirmation that the government stands on the platform of consistent, bilateral implementation of the agreements signed with workers' representatives in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, and also that the state will continue its policy toward the church, the policy it has followed to date which favors cooperation on the most vital interests of the nation, cooperation which will enable us to gradually solve problems concerned with the situation of the church and of believing citizens in the state.

The worsening situation calls on both the authorities and the whole nation to undertake the greatest possible efforts to prevent an economic catastrophe and the collapse of the state, so that the problems on which the future of the nation depends will be solved with our own hands, with the hands of Poles themselves.

The communique issued by the Supreme Council of the Polish Episcopate 2 days ago speaks of this matter and it expresses the opinion of all Catholic society.

Public opinion is also anxious over the unjustified delays in working out the draft bill on censorship, which should have been submitted to the Sejm a long time ago.

A problem around which many tensions are centered today is the registration of an NSZZ of Farmers. As is known, the Supreme Court has rejected the application for registration of this trade union because it found no legal basis for recognizing it as a trade union. This decision can be understood only as a reservation regarding the legal form, not as questioning the right of individual farmers to form unions, which results both from the principles of justice as well as from the Constitution.

The denial of this right, which has been granted to hired employees, would be an act of discrimination. If our intentions of restoring rural self-government are to be believed, then we must ensure for farmers the right to join the organizations which they trust.

That is why, while not not giving up attempts to restore agricultural circles, we must create conditions enabling farmers to organize themselves in the new, independent unions, from which they expect real representation and the defense of their interests.

On this issue our circle already expressed its views in November last year in the speech made by Deputy Janusz Zablocki. If, in conformity with the decision of the Supreme Court in the application of rules on trade unions, it is not possible to apply them to individual farmers, then it is necessary to replace the rules by some other legal form which will allow the formation of peasant unions. Such unions should be granted legal standing through registration by the court. An occasion for legally settling these problems could be found in the suggested bill on agricultural self-government but in a version different from the draft presented to us for consultation.

The second issue: The movement of Catholics which we have been representing in the Sejm for many years now formed an organization in January called the Polish Catholic Social Union [Polski Zwiazek Katolicko-Spoleczny]. Our deputies' club was also subordinated to its leadership. In order to mark this we have decided to change the club's name to "Deputies' Club of the Polish Catholic Social Union" [Kolo Poselskie Polskiego Zwiazku Katolickc Spolecznego]. We are at the same time glad to inform the Sejm Presidium of this.

Warning on 'Subversion'

LD122218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1715 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Jarema Maciszewski, PZPR deputy, at 12 February Sejm session--live]

[Excerpt] Citizen-deputies! People's Poland has loyal friends but it also has passionate enemies. Will you please note that all the actions of the internal opponents of socialism and of supporters of political orientations rejected by the nation at the threshold of our independence are coordinated regarding timing and concepts with all the actions which are being undertaken and developed against People's Poland by imperialist centers of subversion. The latter are striving in a flagrant fashion to create around Polish matters an atmosphere of uncertainty and tension, to exploit the events in Poland, to realize intentions which run counter to both the interests of Poland, the relaxation of international tension and peace in the world. In this world there exist forces which are interested in weakening the cohesion and strength of the socialist camp of which Poland is an important link. There exist forces interested in weakening and isolating Poland, in forming opinions about the inability of Poles to create permanent and stable values in their own state life.

The assessment of the events in Poland which is given by part of the Western press to its readers, for instance, the veritable wave of various commentaries and provocative press photographs and their contents and suggestiveness, cannot be reconciled with official declarations about noninterference in the internal matters of Poland. We must also take these facts into account. We must, in reliably carrying out our duties as deputies, make the public aware of the fundamental truth that in Poland's present situation, when the bulk of the population wants to solve the country's problems in conditions of stabilization, calm and order, all inflammatory urgings, appeals for strikes, the escalation of unrealistic demands and blowing up secondary issues into matters of primary importance strike against the elementary principles of the Polish raison d'etat and directly against the nation.

Socialist Poland is a country of great freedoms and citizens' rights. It is enough to take a look around the world to fully realize this. Our society is interested in the universality of these freedoms and rights. This cause is served, among others, by social agreements and the method of dialogue and consultations. But in order to ensure their permanence and development one must also understand their limits in order to make it impossible for rights and freedoms to degenerate in the direction of anarchy, chaos and lawlessness. The limits are demarcated here by internal calm, constitutional norms, the basic foundations of the system and the unshaken principles of our foreign policy.

We cannot demand from the government that it cope with all the exceptionally difficult commitments which it took upon itself within the framework of the social agreements while at the same time tying its hands at every step and paralyzing its ability to act by striving to take away its attributes of power.

I cannot help reflecting bitterly here--and this bitter reflection stems from my studies over a period of many years of our homeland's history--about the still alive and menacing overhang of the legacy of those elements of the nobility's culture which found expression in the use of the principle of liberum veto, in the aspiration for unbridled freedom, in identifying freedom with lawlessness and in viewing the state-citizen relationship only in categories of duties of the state which continues to weigh on our awareness. In the past we paid the supreme price for anarchy, for the lack of high standards of state work, for chaos, for cavalier manners and for viewing dreams and desires as reality. We must be aware of this and do everything so that the young generation might understand this, too.

Comrade premier! Your words have reached hearts and minds. I am sure that the overwhelming majority of our nation has been waiting for precisely such words--words about renewal, about the socialist nature of this renewal, about dialogue, agreements, trust, consultations, about cooperation with the trade unions and social organizations, about the responsibility and duties of the authorities, and also about the duties of citizens, about the need for social law and order and discipline and for a normal rhythm of work and life. Your uniform, comrade general, of the top soldier of the Polish People's Republic is a symbol of values which are particularly cherished in our nation. You have become the head of a government which must be called, without a shade of exaggeration, a government of national salvation. Each one of us has the most holy duty of supporting this government with all our might. Thank you.

Rakowski on Soviet Alliance

LD122114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1913 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Sejm deputy and newly appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the Sejm 12 February--live]

[Text] Citizen-speaker, may it please the house. Over the past few months thousands of words and many apt and sensible assessments have been uttered in this hall on the subject of the most vital issues concerning the Polish nation and state. At this time which is decisively important for Poland we deputies, in our critical and often self-critical view of ourselves and reality, have embarked on a difficult and arduous road to regain the credibility of our electorate. This is a process which has not ended and it is not time to relax yet.

One of the roads along which credibility can and must be strengthened is the use made by the house of its broad powers of control regarding the government and the whole state and economic administration. In the great complex of means of control, in relation to the authority of which socialist democracy can avail itself, the Sejm constitutes the most important. No matter how burdensome the control function of the Sejm might be for the state administration, this function must be applied with great determination and iron consistency.

On behalf of the continuing existence and strengthening of law and order, I wish to repeat what I said in my speech at the Sejm forum in September last year: The government and the whole administration are only the servant of the nation and are not the most brilliant sages or an infallible arrogant oracle.

Today, in just the same way as in all of the past six months, the attention of public opinion is focussed on the fate of the renewal of our social and economic life. Hopes are intermingled with fears and optimism with pessimism.

The conviction must be consolidated in our fellow countrymen, who are doubtful of the possibility of achieving steady progress in the process of renewing those structures of social and economic life which require such a renewal, that the implementation of the program for renewing social and economic socialist principles is the only road open for the Polish nation. My party also wishes this.

The party base is expressing this wish and this finds expression in the resolutions of routine plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee. This wish is being repeated on numerous occasions by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Stanislaw Kania, not to obtain applause but because this is the wish of the majority of the party and because this is the wish of the nation.

We are convinced supporters of renewal. This must not be doubted and neither must we be subjected to examination every day for this reason. But neither must one succumb to idealistic raptures and the naive belief that the changes which are needed by and which are favorable for the nation and the country will be effected without conflict. This has never been and never will be the case.

Naturally it does not mean that conflicts should be treated as divine chastisement. A preventive policy should and can be undertaken. The party and people's authority must forestall events and anticipate not one, but at least several moves forward. It must behave like a master chess player. It is the order of the moment and who does not understand it will sooner or later taste bitter failure.

We do not need petty clashes nor do we need to attach great importance to issues which are in fact trifles, which become secondary after a week. In our policy personal affairs cannot be placed above anything else. Real dangers would not allow it. Stanislaw Kania spoke about it yesterday and Wojciech Jaruzelski today. My obligation toward the community I also see as paving the way for thinking which overtakes the run of events. We do not have to pay any price, and certainly not a high one, for the departure of people who have no chance of regaining the confidence of the community.

The general's uniform of the head of government encourages me to use the following comparison: In face of the very complicated situation and the threat with many question marks, the people's authority cannot behave like a group of soldiers returning from a lost battle, unable to resume fighting again. Imitation of this would equal giving into the forces hostile to socialism, irresponsible people and anarchist groupings.

Esteemed house, I do not wish to repeat myself. Hence I only say that I heartily subscribe to what the Central Committee first secretary said yesterday and the chairman of the Council of Ministers today, about the dangers hanging above Poland. The process of renewal can only be realized if we can halt any further deterioration of the economic situation and if in social life we bar the way for irresponsible people and pseudo-radicals of all kind. I think it is time to say aloud a warning: All extremes today constitute a threat to Poland. We must express sorrow that extreme attitudes also are to be found among mature people whom one can not accuse of naivete or lack of experience.

Today, the main objective of all Poles is to return to normal work, to give up demands which are impossible to meet, to observe law and order. I am full of appreciation and respect for the great Polish humanist Prof Jan Szczepanski who, being concerned with the constant deterioration of social and economic situation of Poland, desperately calls for a return to commonsense. I wish that other prominent people of science, great moral authorities of our country, would follow in his footsteps.

The hopes for a return to normal work, better than yesterday or the day before, links many Poles with the new trade union--Solidarity. I am one of them but I wish to dot the "i".

For various reasons, today Solidarity is creating many anxieties and fears, yet without Solidarity one cannot imagine the construction in Poland of a system of partnership. Such a system has to be created but the problem is that it cannot be the creation of just one side. Several weeks ago, on the pages of POLITYKA I called for holding the partner in high esteem. I am not withdrawing anything I said on that occasion, but today I wish to amplify my appeal. A partnership can be created only when all the social forces, all vocational and creative organizations show a readiness to participate in it, and shed their suspicions and prejudices and their often unjustified aggression. If this happens then the future of the renewal will be seen in bright, optimistic colours.

Now, the last problem. An exceptionally important social group is journalists and printers. This is my own environment and it will remain so. The journalists' environment in the majority is mentally and emotionally linked with socialism, with people's rule. The same applies to printers. Today, the attention of journalists and printers is centered on the draft bill on censorship. The dates agreed on have not been kept. Those concerned know that there are differences of opinion and there are opposing attitudes. Today these are important and meaningful, yet one cannot any longer tolerate the delays. Even if the whole draft bill is not yet perfect, one can already abide by points of convergence, beginning today, and this would conform with the idea expressed by deputies who are members of the Association of Polish Journalists.

In recent weeks, the Association of Polish Journalists has been sending memorandums to the authorities containing views on the most important problems of the country. This is a positive phenomenon but from this tribune I would like to ask my colleagues and long-standing political friends to condemn everything making the return to the normal rhythm of work difficult with equal passion, and to use their talents to fight against the signs of factiousness, to strengthen the principles of tolerance and to show respect for other peoples' views.

May it please the house, it will not be an exaggeration to say that all Europe and the world are watching us anxiously. More and more often Poland is considered the sick man of Europe. We cannot allow such an opinion about us to become generalized. This is our patriotic duty.

It is also our patriotic duty to maintain and strengthen our alliances, particularly the Polish-Soviet alliance. Anyone who attacks this alliance should be severely judged by public opinion. Only men of evil will or fools can proclaim anti-Soviet slogans in Poland.

The time is exceptionally serious. Only a few trump cards are left. We have nowhere to retreat to. Either the line of understanding will win or we shall sink into chaos. I do not think this constitutes pessimism. This constitutes a realistic view of Polish problems of the present situation. Thank you very much. [applause]

Pax Member on Renewal

LD122318 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1923 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Zenon Komender on behalf of the Catholic group, Pax at the 12 February session of the Sejm--live]

[Excerpts] The political renewal of the state and the economic reform which is now being prepared must rest on a more profound foundation of a moral renewal of our nation. After all, the events of last August showed how wide the link is between the ideological and political basis, as well as the patriotic basis of the Polish nation and the ethical basis. The present phenomenon of striving toward a moral renewal can constitute an enormous social asset but only on the condition that the changes taking place in our country are based on the most profound values and foundations of human beings.

The role played in shaping the moral and patriotic foundations of our nation by the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, is indeed a historic one. His great public prestige has resulted in real and positive achievements in these difficult days of social tensions and conflicts. This phenomenon has again confirmed the socially creative impact of the inspiration of the Catholic outlook and of the church's teaching in Poland.

These are important premises for speeding up the implementation in our country of the central, ideological demand of the Pax social-progressive movement of Catholics, (?much) of the outlook of Polish socialism, and equal rights of believers in the political and professional life in People's Poland. This is not only an urgent need expressed by the Catholics themselves, but also an essential factor in accelerating the process of the development of Poland and of socialism.

The deputies of the Pax group, aware of the great complexity of the danger inherent in the present social and political situation, as well as the profound collapse of our national economy, despite many doubts and reservations, are going to vote for adopting the draft plan and draft budget for 1981 which constitute the general framework for action aimed at putting in order the social and economic life in our country referred to today, in such specific terms, by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. [applause]

Malcuzynski on Censorship

LD122215 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Speech by Karol Malcuzynski, Sejm deputy, journalist and commentator, at 12 February Sejm session--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the house, please do not be frightened by my file, it is not the text of my speech. It would be indecent to make a long speech at this time of the night. This is a bundle of documents, letters, telegrams and telexes which I have received over the past few days from various institutions, associations and also from individual citizens.

They concern many different issues and ask or demand to be mentioned in the Sejm debate. Also there have been telephone calls. I think that my other deputy colleagues have similar experiences. What does it prove? First of all it proves a great surge of feelings in the country and a great anxiety pervading the community. Second, citizens are coming round to trusting the Sejm and to convey their problems to us. We, the Sejm, must not bypass their feelings or ignore them. The issue of at least partially regained trust is a priceless gain because for months we have been talking about the need to restore trust between the community and the organs of state authority. Many questions and proposals from my file concern protracted work on the new bill on censorship. Deputy Rakowski spoke about it before as a subject proposed by deputies to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and made by several journalist deputies.

Today, owing to considerable changes in the government, we will not have our traditional hour for questions and answers, the so-called hour of frankness, which has been received with great interest by the public opinion.

Mr Premier, in your very balanced expose, while listing urgent bills on which the government and the Sejm will work over the next 6 months, you did not mention the bill on censorship. You mentioned it in a different context, not giving the date of its completion. I would like to draw the attention of the house and the government to the fact that the issue of censorship is an urgent one not only because of agreed dates, which have already been postponed, but because of the fact that it arouses great interest, not only among writers, artists and journalists, but also among their clients, which means the community.

Recently at the Sejm we had a session of the specially organized subcommittee, which includes representatives from three Sejm commissions, and all stated as one that the question of censorship as a rule is being asked at every parliamentary meeting. This is a problem which people instinctively link with the future of renewal and in which they also see reflected the attitudes of different circles and of different state organs toward renewal. The house does not know, because information on this subject was inadequate and misleading, that there have already been instances of several Warsaw and provincial dailies not being printed. The main demands made by printers were problems of censorship and the manipulation of information, especially information on the trade union movement. It was not problems of living, not the problem of additional milk supplies, not working conditions and wages, but in fact these two problems.

Several other threatening conflicts were stifled thanks to mediation by the Association of Polish Journalists. But tomorrow, on 13 February, may it please the house, Poland was to have been threatened by a demonstrative nonworking day on which not a single paper would have appeared in the country.

A few hours ago I learned, not quite officially, that in response to an appeal from the National Consultative Commission in Gdansk, the printers have decided to suspend their action. I think that this, too, is a good sign, the first sign after the appeal made by the new premier asking for a 3-month truce--I think that under the new government we should use military terminology.

Other problems raised in the numerous telegrams and telex messages are concerned with anxiety about or opposition toward such moves as the government decision on payment for days of strike; the declaration made by the Ministry of Justice saying that Rural Solidarity actions are illegal, without any further explanation; or the rather secretive communique about investigations against the Workers' Defense Committee/Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR/KSS], an investigation about which KOR members themselves--hear this--know very little, and which was already supposed to have uncovered links with foreign centers, which in addition financed KOR's activities.

What matters, if it pleases the house, is what is not printed, and I have spoken about this earlier, but also important is what is printed. I do not deny that there are forces in Poland which would like Solidarity and the whole process of renewal to be used against renewal. But I also know that by multiplying threats and insinuations we will not be able to defuse the atmosphere. Among many people we will in fact arouse the reflex of Solidarity. Using others words the Deputy (Symonides) spoke on this matter too.

I will sign myself under the thesis that we must take up polemics with these forces and a political struggle. But let us not put all the blame--as we did in the past--on these antisocialist forces, nor on these foreign circles, because this arouses merriment and fear, and what is worse it reminds some of the times when all Poland's domestic troubles were attributed to the work of hostile agencies, as they were then called.

Let us look for the guilty ones among ourselves, in the preserves of the administrative and state apparatus, in those layers of the apparatus which either for ideological reasons are opposed to all these experiments of renewal, or simply do not want to and are unable to adapt to the new rules of governing, to the methods of dialogue and co-operation with the various social groups and circles.

While occupying the dugouts of holy trinity one must not seek shelter under the cover of the red banner of socialism. Polemics, political discussion and skirmishes are in order, but not insinuations, chicanery or slander, which are counterproductive. Applied by one of the two sides they provoke the other to indulge in similar irregular behavior. Editor Rakowski who spoke here before me wrote in his memorable article about respect for the partner that both sides make mistakes but that these mistakes should be weighed on different scales. Mistakes committed by the authorities, or rather, the authorities have less right to make a mistake and a more narrow margin of error than the other side. Those insinutations, chicanery and slander, instead of winning people over, antagonize them and prompt them to adopt even more extreme positions. May it please the chamber, propaganda is a delicate instrument. I have had many occasions before to speak on this subject. One must know how to play this instrument. It is a symphony orchestra and we adopt the style of a brass band.

In expressing my appreciation once more, for your first speech, Mr Premier, and in expressing the hope that the actions of the new government will be marked by the same political commonsense and energy, but also calm, I conclude my speech reserving for myself the right to speak at a session with a less crammed agenda. I thank you for the opportunity of making this speech. [applause]

SD Deputy on 'Antisocialists'

LD131016 Warsaw PAP in English 0218 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Report on speech by Democratic Party Deputy Dorota Simonides at 12 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Deputy Dorota Simonides (Democratic Party) pointed out that it was necessary to specify the term "anti-socialist forces."

She said that a consistent renewal is endangered by those who want to take advantage of it and meet their own ends and by those who are against it. She added that it would not be right to say that those who criticise certain phenomena and whose intention is to improve evil belong to anti-socialist forces. According to Deputy Simonides an appropriate interpretation of the problems touched upon by the deputies would not make it possible for new conflicts to emerge.

Deputy Supports Domestic Peace

LD131038 Warsaw PAP in English 0211 GMt 13 Feb 81

[Report on speech by Deputy Ryszard Reiff, chairman of the Catholic Pax Association Presidium, at 12 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Deputy Ryszard Reiff (Pax) said that the current situation is the third stage of social maturity. This calls for Solidarity to work out its own imperative of patriotic thinking. Renewal broke down the borders limiting the society's share in co-government. It would be a mistake not to join this movement. But today, renewal means optimalizing these borders. We are with those who fought for renewal and cut the path for the process, with those, who have defined the optimum limits for renewal. We are against those who, thoughtlessly and nonchalantly say that (?there are) no such limits. The time has come to shift from the time of struggle to a time of work.

The deputy said that the deepest sense of the prime minister's programme lies in the appeal, dictated by the present reason of state, to give the government 90 days for sorting out basic economic issues. Today's reason of state demands, first of all, domestic peace, without which all we are talking about is pure rhetoric. The government has obligated itself to ensure this domestic peace. But these 90 days are also given to the government to be used for carrying out social strivings and expectations.

Swiftness on Accords Urged

LD131024 Warsaw PAP in English 0214 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Report on speech by Deputy Kazimierz Morawski, president of the Christian Social Association's Main Administration, at 12 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Deputy Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Association, said that the confidence in the government would grow in proportion to its swiftness and efficiency in implementing the accords signed in August and in consistently renewing national life.

The nation views the appointment of the commander of the Polish Army to the post of prime minister as the will to provide the country with a government which will be determined and consistent in action, considerate and democratic, decided to hold the dialogue with society, and capable of facing the escalation of phenomena weakening the country with full energy and political wisdom.

Support for 'People's Authority'

LD131016 Warsaw PAP in English 0215 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Report on speech by Deputy Ryszard Najsznerski of the PZPR at 12 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Sejm Deputy Ryszard Najsznerski (PUWP) said that all people whose concern is just settlement of important problems, the settlement conformable to the nation's interest, could count on the Sejm. Neither side of the continually recurring dispute--neither the government nor the "Solidarity" union--can say that they are not to be blamed.

The government did not act consistently and fast enough. "Solidarity", on the other hand, resorted to the weapon of the greatest calibre too often and hastily. Today, it is of no concern who was right and to what extent. Today, the point is to create democratic mechanisms making it possible to settle even the gravest problems thus proving high maturity and political culture of the nation.

We must be fully aware of the fact that a part of now-emerging contradictions is only a sign that the time of patched-up unanimity passed away for ever and that now strong authority means the authority which, in a climate of toilsome discussion and differences of views, would be able to achieve agreement as quick as possible. As at present the authority is weak in many aspects, I support fully the idea of strengthening our people's authority.

Commission on Lodz Strikes

LD122016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1813 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] During the plenary session of the Sejm a meeting of the Sejm Commission for Science and Technological Progress was held. Deputies, members of this commission, heard a report of the minister of science, higher education and technology, Janusz Gorski, on the results hitherto of negotiations between the interministerial commission and the striking students of the Lodz higher education schools.

After acquainting itself with the progress of talks between the interminister al commission and the interschool consultative committee of the Lodz students staging the strike, the Sejm commission stated that it will endeavor within its competence to implement the agreement which ought to be concluded and see to it that the competent authorities will examine matters included in the future protocol on possible differences. The commission appeals to both sides for the immediate drafting of final decision and the signing of an agreement.

Sejm Votes on Appointments

LD130050 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2108 GMT on 12 February carries in its live relay of the Polish Sejm session voting on the election of two new members to the Council of State and the appointment of new members of the Council of Ministers as proposed by Premier Jaruzelski. The number of votes in favor is not given, only those against and the number of abstentions.

Elected to the membership of the Council of State are: Ryszard Reiff--none against and no abstentions; Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek--none against and no abstentions.

The voting on the recall from the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers: Aleskander Kopec--none against and no abstentions; Stanislaw Kowalczyk--two against and one abstention.

From the post of minister of heavy and agricultural machines industry: Andrzej Jedynak--none against and no abstentions.

From the post of minister of agriculture: Leon Klonica--none against and three abstentions;

From the post of minister of education and training: Krzysztof Kruszewski--33 against and 35 abstentions;

From the post of minister of chemical industry: Henryk Pruchniewicz--none against and four abstentions;

From the post of minister of forestry and timber industry: Tadeusz Skwirzynski--7 against and 15 abstentions.

The voting on the following appointments is:

To the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers: Andrzej Jedynak--none against and eight abstentions; Mieczyslaw Rakowski--3 against and 11 abstentions;

To the post of the minister of education and training: Boleslaw Faron--none against and 29 abstentions;

To the post of the minister of chemical industry: Kazimierz Klek--none against and seven abstentions;

To the post of minister of forestry and timber industry: Waldemar Kozlowski--1 against and 14 abstentions;

To the post of minister of health and social welfare: Tadeusz Szelachowski--none against and no abstentions;

To the post of minister of agriculture: Jerzy Wojtecki--two against and six abstentions;

To the post of minister of heavy and agricultural machines industry: Stanislaw Wylupek--three against and nine abstentions.

Sejm Approves Budget, Ends

LD122352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Excerpts] The session of the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland has ended. The Sejm has adopted a resolution on the national socioeconomic plan for this year and also approved the budget.

The Sejm has made a supplementary election to the Council of State, electing Deputies Ryszard Reiff, chairman of the Pax Association and Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, member of the PZPR Central Committee and chief editor of CHLOPSKA DROGA. Next the Sejm voted on and approved the changes in the Council of Ministers proposed by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

New State Council Members

LD131049 Warsaw PAP in English 0300 GMT 13 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--The Sejm elected two new members of the Council of State: Deputy Ryszard Reiff--chairman of the "Pax" Catholic Association and Mieczyslaw Rog-Swistek--member of the PUWP Central Committee, the editor-in-chief of the PUWP CC organ, CHLOPSKA DROGA.

Ryszard Reiff, 57, an active member of clandestine organizations during the Nazi occupation of Poland and a commander of partisan units. He is one of the founders of the "Pax" Catholic Association. Between 1964-68 he was a Sejm deputy. In January 1979 he was elected chairman of the "Pax" Association. Since 1980 he has been a Sejm deputy.

Mieczyslaw Rog-Swistek, 61, peasant activist, was an active member of the resistance movement of the Polish Workers' Party. Since 1950 he has been the editor-in-chief of the PUWP CC organ, CHLOPSKA DROGA.

NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION MEETS IN GDANSK

Walesa Presidium Appointment

LD122304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] A session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity took place in Gdansk today.

In the course of the debates a decision was approved on the aims and methods of action of the union. In the near future the KKP will present to the union for discussion a draft program of action. During the session, the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission Presidium was appointed, including Lech Walesa.

Printers Strike Suspended

LD121708 Warsaw PAP in English 1437 GMT 12 Feb 81

["Communique of Solidarity's National Consultative Commission"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Feb (PAP)--Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Ryszard Kalinowski today issued the following statement on the authority from the National Consultative Commission of their union: "The printers affiliated with the Independent Self-Governed Trade Union 'Solidarity' turned to the National Consultative Commission with a request to permit them to proclaim a day without press on February 13th in support of the social postulates for relaxation of censorship and granting 'Solidarity' access to the media of mass communications.

"The National Consultative Commission thanks the printers for their readiness to struggle for the matters of the whole nation and the entire union. Simultaneously, in view of the formation by the Sejm of the new government and the need to get familiarized with the government stand as well as the possibility for establishing a dialogue, the commission is willing to display good-will and suspend the action scheduled for February 13th. Futhermore restraint from such an action will depend on the progress of work on relaxation of censorship under law and our union's access to the mass media."

SOLIDARITY ESTABLISHES LINKS WITH WESTERN TU'S

LD102100 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Excerpt] The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions [LO] is to coordinate international trade union aid to Poland's free trade union movement Solidarity. To start with, Solidarity is to get printing presses and aid in training. Rune Molin of LO has this to say:

[Begin recording] [Molin] Solidarity has asked for a contact in the Western world and it preferred it to be Sweden.

[Question] Is this perhaps because Sweden is a neutral country and it may be easier to have contacts with the Swedish trade union movement?

[Answer] I do not know Solidarity's reasons for this wish, but it is clear that our being neutral may play a role. [end recording]

Already now LO is aiding Solidarity with material, such as printing presses, printing ink and paper. But now Swedish LO is to look after contacts with Solidarity on behalf of several other European trade unions as well. Solidarity also needs help with training, and other wishes may be expressed when a delegation from Solidarity visits Sweden on 23 February, led by Deputy General Secretary Bogdan Lis.

AMBASSADOR TO UN DISCUSSES SOVIET 'UNEASE'

LD121255 Madrid ABC in Spanish 10 Feb 81 p 17

[J.M. Carrascal interview in New York with Polish Ambassador to United Nations Henryk Jaroszek: "Soviet Unease Is Natural"--date of interview not given]

[Text] United Nations--Since the situation in Poland is deteriorating and all predictions are possible, the statements which that country's Ambassador to the United Nations Henryk Jaroszek has just made rather hurriedly--although not on his part--to us are interesting.

[Question] Do you believe a Soviet invasion of your country to be imminent?

[Answer] I do not believe so. The Soviet Union has treated us as allies since the end of World War II and everything gives the impression that it will continue to treat us as such, although, on the other hand, its unease at what is happening in my country is natural.

[Question] Everything indicates that Solidarity is becoming a political opposition: Is that so?

[Answer] That is the crucial problem. The movement originated as a workers trade union but there are people within it who wish to turn it into a political movement and an opposition to the government.

[Question] What is your government's attitude toward this?

[Answer] It believes--and I believe that it is correct--that this is a violation of what was agreed. What was agreed in Katowice was that Solidarity's status as a labor movement was recognized. The government is entitled to demand that this be fulfilled.

[Question] What will it do if this does not happen--if, as appears to be the case, the workers organizations make more and more demands of a political nature?

[Answer] The situation will undoubtedly deteriorate, which is what is happening. From the outset the government has been determined not to use force and to seek an agreed solution to the differences which arise. For its part it has fulfilled what was agreed in Katowice and it insists that the trade unions and their leaders do likewise.

[Question] The Polish Central Committee is now meeting. Is it expected to adopt measures to tackle the crisis?

[Answer] I do not believe so. It is a scheduled meeting to prepare for the next party congress, although this does not mean that solutions to the present situation will not be sought.

[Question] Forgive my dwelling on an issue which undoubtedly is neither easy nor pleasant for you, but what stand do you believe the Polish Army would adopt in the event of a Soviet invasion?

[Answer] I repeat that I do not believe that a military intervention in Poland by its neighbors or anybody else will occur. My country remains a loyal ally of all of them, although their unease at what is happening within it is understandable in view of the key position which Poland occupies in the Warsaw Pact, in the very center of its system of communications, transportation and so forth. It is natural that they should be anxious for the present period of instability to end and for it not to degenerate into anarchy. As far as our army is concerned, I can say that it will be loyal to the Polish people and to the Warsaw Pact. [answer ends]

There the interview ended. At the end or at a crossroads, since if matters deteriorate, the Polish Army could find that it cannot be loyal to its people and to the pact with the neighbors at the same time.

PROSPECTS FOR JARUZELSKI 'LAST CHANCE' GOVERNMENT

LD131105 Paris LE FIGARO in French 11 Feb 81 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Margueritte Warsaw dispatch: "The Last Chance"]

[Text] General Jaruzelski's appointment as premier to replace Mr Pinkowski, whose fall I forecast two weeks ago, has been received by public opinion all the more hopefully because people realize that failure on his part would lead the country toward catastrophe.

"This government," an important Central Committee member told me, in fact, on Tuesday, "is for us a last chance government."

True, everybody feels that its task will not be easy. This could be seen as recently as Tuesday when the Supreme Court rejected an application by Rural Solidarity for registration, explaining that individual peasants could form "associations" but not "trade unions." There could have been no doubt about the court's verdict after Kania's remarks on the subject at the plenum. Since the morning, thousands of peasants waving national flags, placards and streamers demanding that they be allowed to register their trade unions gathered near the Supreme Court, obstructing traffic, while large squads of militia ensured order. Obviously this matter could lead to new conflicts.

However, Mr Walesa refused to state his views on the subject for the time being, saying that it would be up to the Solidarity National Consultative Commission to express its opinion. The trade union leader added that the results of the party plenum--in particular General Jaruzelski's appointment as premier--should not render more difficult the task of his movement whose main objective at present is to prevent local conflicts and improve its organizational structure.

Since the plenum, Kania's policy has become clearer--it is a question of saying "no to Rural Solidarity," "no to dissidents," "no" to what he calls "political strikes" and "no to disorder within the party." As far as the last point is concerned, the Politburo now demands that party members abstain from any participation in such "political strikes." Furthermore, party leaders are very worried by the fact that Solidarity members have infiltrated the party at the instigation, "according to them," of Workers' Defense Committee [KOR] dissidents.

Finally, the leadership intends to ensure that preparations for the congress, which will in any case probably be postponed until May or June--proceed in an orderly manner, in accordance with democratic centralism. With respect to all these questions the party now intends--this was made clear throughout the plenum--to act with the greatest possible firmness, in accordance with a slogan dear to Olszowski--"renewal yes, anarchy no."

However, this does not mean at all that any change in the direction of an intransigent policy has taken place. On the contrary, Kania made a point of emphasizing that the party intends to embark with more determination on the path leading to the implementation of the democratization policy whether with respect to economic reform, relations with the press, censorship or trade union law. The appointment of Mr Rakowski, POLITYKA chief editor and leader of the party's moderate faction, to the past of deputy premier will be a symbol of this desire. In addition, several members of the government dealing with economic and technical matters are to be replaced and yet another deputy premier--Machine Industry Minister Jedynak--is to be appointed (on the other hand, Mr Kopec and former Interior Minister Kowalozyk are to cease to be deputy premiers).

How was it decided to appoint General Jaruzelski premier? First of all, the news of his appointment came sooner than expected since the plenum, which was to last 2 days, was finally cut short by 1 day. "In the present state of affairs," a Central Committee member told me on Tuesday to account for this decision, "we could not venture to let regional first secretaries and local activists absent themselves from their posts for 2 days." This shows how unstable the situation is.

Uniform's Prestige

In any case, General Jaruzelski was not the candidate initially chosen as premier by Kania, who would apparently have preferred Jagielski as premier. The deterioration in the social climate in the country and the increase in Soviet pressure in recent days forced the first secretary to change the formula. Furthermore, even if General Jaruzelski's appointment seems, in fact, to be a last chance choice, it has many positive aspects.

Indeed, the general is acceptable at one and the same time to:

--Kania himself, who by appointing General Jaruzelski has in fact formed an alliance with the army which was undoubtedly necessary at a time when, as he stated in his closing speech at the plenum, "the fatherland is in danger." This alliance has clearly strengthened the first secretary's position both in the country and with respect to his rivals in the party;

--Wide strata of the population. Cold and aloof but elegant in his behavior and well-mannered, Jaruzelski, who was born into a family belonging to the intelligentsia and even the minor gentry, is undoubtedly in favor with public opinion. The uniform's prestige and respect for the army have remained very great in Poland. Furthermore, the army has for months been (?with the church), the only organized and disciplined force in the country. In any case, soldiers have been used on all sorts of occasions including, for instance, clearing roads of snow and digging potatoes. In addition, General Jaruzelski has kept aloof from the struggles among factions in the party, had made few public speeches and has done all the less damage to his image because whenever he did speak up--in December 1970 and August 1980--it was to oppose the use of the army for putting down strikes and to ask that political solutions to the conflict be found;

--Supporters of a firm policy in the party, since people who believe with Mr Olszowski that the authorities must at last stop giving way have been quite pleased with the appointment of General Jaruzelski, in whom they above all see the head of the Armed Forces, that is, a symbol of order and firmness. They feel sure that even though the general has adopted a moderate stand in the past, he would use the army if this were the only way to prevent foreign intervention;

--The Soviets, since the Kremlin leaders can feel pleased for two reasons: First, because this appointment means that the Polish party leaders have kept their word and, in accordance with the agreement concluded during the pact leaders' conference in Moscow, have just passed, in view of the further deterioration in the situation, to the second part of the scenario which involves calling in the army to restore order. Second, it has recently been rumored in Warsaw military circles that the Soviets would like to see General Jaruzelski leave the defense ministry. In fact his presence there seemed to be a serious obstacle to any intervention. This obstacle is gradually being eliminated. This certainly represents a grave aspect of the present situation, even though during a transitional period General Jaruzelski is, if I am well informed, to combine the functions of premier and defense minister.

With General Jaruzelski as premier Kania is playing a sort of "double or quits" game--he has increased his chances of gaining control over the situation in the country but, in the event of failure, he would increase the risk of Soviet intervention. In fact, the party leaders' margin of maneuver and the number of their options are continually decreasing. Henceforth, if unrest were to continue in the country there would be only possibility left prior to any possible Soviet intervention--in fact using General Jaruzelski's army.

Will the uniform's prestige and the threat that the army could be used be sufficient to restore order? Nothing can be less certain in the prevailing climate. Nonetheless, a sudden improvement has taken place following the general's appointment--an agreement was concluded in Jelenia Gora and the strike there was ended. The strike which was to begin in the mines on Tuesday has been called off and the conflict with Lodz students is in the process of being resolved.

JARUZELSKI APPOINTMENT, MOSCOW 'IMPATIENCE' VIEWED

LD121609 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Feb 81 pp 1, 6

[Daniel Vernet dispatch: "Moscow's Impatience Continues To Grow Over Polish Crisis"]

[Excerpt] Moscow--The Soviet media were very quick to announce the appointment of General Jaruzelski as head of the Polish Government on Tuesday 10 February but without making any comment.

PRAVDA for this Wednesday 11 February published very lengthy extracts from the report submitted to the PZPR Central Committee by Mr Grabski.

General Jaruzelski was not thought to be particularly favored in Moscow but his appointment as Warsaw government chief gives the Kremlin several reasons for being satisfied. The Polish leadership had to do something. The Soviet press had stressed strongly enough over the past few weeks that the situation was deteriorating and that chaos was likely. It had expressed its anxiety and indicated that "a large section of the Polish working class expected measures to be taken to step up the response to counterrevolution," which is one way of criticizing the PZPR leaders' "weakness."

In addition the appointment of an army officer as government chief might strike the Soviets as a sign of a tougher line and may have the advantage of "involving" the Polish Army, whose attitude in the event of a serious crisis still constitutes a source of doubt.

Is this enough to reassure the Kremlin? There is reason to doubt it and to think that Mr Jaruzelski's arrival in power will not be enough to dispel skepticism. The hopes of normalization have not been borne out and the mandate given to Mr Kania by the Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow at the beginning of December has not been fulfilled.

Without seeming to openly interfere in the internal affairs of a fraternal country, the Soviets have publicly advised a return to order on several occasions. The Polish leaders have, for instance, been called upon not to tolerate political strikes, not to accept the dismissal of local leaders under pressure from the grassroots, to punish Solidarity's actions which are "contrary to Polish law," to start proceedings against the Social Self-Defense Committee and its leaders, to refuse permission to set up a peasants' trade union and to encourage the revival of the branch trade unions which have resumed the old tradition of the trade union movement in socialist countries by calling on the workers to "work more and better."

Mr Brezhenv's Instructions

The Moscow leaders' line of conduct which was drawn up in the initial phase of the Polish crisis--not without discussion it would seem was explained to Kania by Mr Brezhnev during their first meeting at the end of last October. According to generally well-informed East European sources, Mr Brezhnev explained that the crucial point for the USSR was the maintenance of the socialist regime and the PZPR's leadership role in Poland in addition to which there was the security of its lines of defense and communication with the GDR. In this framework, Mr Brezhnev apparently continued, the Poles have a free hand to settle their problems as they wish and to carry out the economic and social reforms they deem necessary. They could draw inspiration from the Hungarian experiment and even the Yugoslav experiment if they wish. However, this policy presupposed restoring control and that has so far not happened.

STATE DEPARTMENT CLARIFIES STATEMENT ON AID

LD111536 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 11 Feb 81

["American Credits for Poland in Doubt?"--PAP headline]

[Text] Washington, 11 Feb (PAP)--The issue of credits for Poland has given rise to unexpected controversies in Washington triggered by the statement made by a State Department spokesman during a press conference last Friday. The repeated statement indicated that at present the administration was not contemplating any credit proposals for Poland. This gave the impression that the administration had backed down on its original intentions and the tactics of the previous administration.

But the State Department was quick to realize that the spokesman's enunciation was imprecise and issued another statement to the effect that credits for Poland would be considered.

Thus the State Department indicated that the matter remains valid and may be considered while no precise definitions and promises are offered. Analysts in Washington voice the opinion that no political decisions on credits are in the offing, at least not until Poland arrives at an appreciable degree of internal stability.

PZPR EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT CRISES

DW121509 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Excerpts from Peter Ruge interview with Eugeniusz Guz, PZPR expert on German affairs, on the present situation in Poland, recorded in Warsaw in German]

[Text] [Question] What do the current events in Poland signify? Is the party at the end of its tether, does the army now have to insure law and order?

[Answer] Mr Ruge, it is the journalists who write this sort of thing that are at the end of their tethers and not the party. What has happened signifies that the government will be ruling a bit more strictly. This was to be expected because the preceding government ruled in a very undecided and lax manner. I will give you an example: The former government tolerated a strike, for instance, in a factory producing vitally important medicines. I hope the new government will not tolerate such situations. Yet, this need not mean that this indicates a turn away from the renewal process because people also have to know how to handle freedom.

[Question] What will be different in the new course? Does it mean that it will not only be harder but that also new methods are to be found, as party boss Kania said in the Sejm this afternoon?

[Answer] As far as the new course is concerned, I can assure you of one thing: I can answer with an absolute no the obvious question as to whether it is intended here to throttle the renewal process through a backdoor. The renewal process simply cannot be turned back or throttled, because such profound changes have taken place in Poland that it is impossible to obliterate them, beginning with Solidarity.

[Question] But in the meantime some announcements have been made that investigations will be initiated against civil rights advocates. Does this mean that a great purge will now be forthcoming?

[Answer] The word purge is very haunting and entirely out of place here. From the very outset we adopted a highly critical attitude toward the elements you named. It is but the consistent continuation of that policy with some energetic actions because unfortunately the readiness of the party and the government for concessions, the use of persuasion, operating only politically and not employing measures of law and order came to nothing. It is necessary to think about other methods a bit as well.

[Question] Solidarity has stopped the strike movement for the time being. Does this mean that Solidarity is adapting to the new government, that the political climate and the domestic climate in Poland is relaxing, or is this only a breathing spell for this new government?

[Answer] This is hard to answer. It is a big question as to how Solidarity will use its strength and react to this new situation. Signals have now been given and people have stated quite unequivocally what a socialist renewal process means. They have said that it must have its principles. The question now is how Solidarity will react. The near future will tell. The indications to date are not discouraging. This is how I would judge it.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY IMF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Meeting With Ceausescu

AU122040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 12, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Jaques Jacobus Polak, executive director of the International Monetary Fund, now visiting Romania. The interview was attended by Paul Niculescu, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of finance.

During the talks, aspects were approached regarding Romania's cooperation with the IMF and its development, as well as current international economic-financial questions. Stress was laid on the efforts international bodies, the International Monetary Fund included, should make eradicating underdevelopment, bridging existing interstate economic gaps, and solving the economic-financial questions confronting the countries of the world.

Meeting With Officials

AU122000 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--Paul Niculescu, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of finance, received Jaques Polak, executive director of the International Monetary Fund, who is paying a visit to Romania. On the occasion, aspects were approached regarding the collaboration between Romania and the International Monetary Fund and opinions were exchanged on the international monetary situation. During his visit, the guest also had an interview with Vasile Rauta, governor of the National Bank of Romania.

ANDREI, DUMA MEET WITH MALAGASY LEGISLATORS

AU122003 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei had an interview on February 12 with Lucien Xavier Michel Andrianarahinjaka, president of the National People's Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and Cristophe Bezandry, vice-president of the National People's Assembly.

On the occasion, they discussed aspects of further development of the relations of friendship and collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and Madagascar, in the spirit of the talks and agreements at summit level, as well as matters of mutual interest of the international life, especially referring to the expansion of the collaboration between the two countries in the world political life.

The same day, Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, chairman for Romania of the joint Romanian-Malagasy Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation, had a talk with the Malagasy parliamentarians. They examined the stage of implementation of the decisions made at the sixth session of the commission, new ways and means ment to lead to deepening and diversifying the economic, technico-scientific and cultural collaboration between the two countries. Virgil Teodorescu, vice-chairman of the Grand National Assembly attended the talks.

CEAUSESCU VISITS BUCHAREST ENTERPRISES 12 FEB

AU121950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 12 in the morning, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, made a working visit at the big Bucharest enterprise "23 August". The visit covered basic compartments of this machine-building enterprise and occasioned a profound analysis of the way of implementation of the plan tasks in conditions of application of the new economic and financial mechanism.

NONALIGNED MEETING, VRHOVEC ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Meeting With Gandhi

LD121446 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Delhi, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--In Delhi today Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi received Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who conveyed to her cordial greetings from Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

In a cordial atmosphere Indira Gandhi and Vrhovec discussed the progress of the ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries, and the problems relating to its work. Emphasis was laid upon the importance of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the movement, and of further affirming the policy of nonalignment in the light of the continual deterioration of world relations. The success of this conference should contribute toward strengthening unity and cohesion.

Talks With Delegation Heads

LD130142 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec today had separate meetings with several foreign ministers or heads of delegations of non-aligned countries.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary met with heads of delegations of Syria, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Angola, Kuwait, Guyana, Peru, Zambia, the United Arab Emirates, the ANC [African National Congress] liberation movement (South Africa) and the SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] (Namibia).

The talks conducted during these meetings primarily focused on issues on the agenda of the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference.

'Fiasco' of 'Natural Alliance'

AU122057 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Jovan Nikolic report]

[Excerpts] This afternoon, the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in the Indian capital concluded the general debate but the meeting of the bureau of the conference to decide on convening the plenary session of the conference is still in progress. Jovan Nikolic reports from the joint editorial office of the Yugoslav radio station:

The general debate concluded at about 1900 hours Indian time with the session at which representatives of the countries participating in the meeting of nonaligned countries used the so-called right of answer. While we are reporting this, members of the bureau of the conference are holding a meeting behind closed doors to decide on the beginning of a plenary session that is expected to adopt the documents which will be submitted by the economic and political committees. But these two committees are still engaged in coordinating views on the draft final document submitted, as is known, by the host country. In the general debate all participants of the conference completed their statements on the topics concerning the contemporary position of the Nonaligned Movement. They emphasized in unison--with the exceptions that prove the rule--the need for stronger implementation of the movement's original orientations in its present, and especially, its future actions.

Attention was once again called in the palace of science to the founding summit of nonaligned countries, to President Tito, to other leaders of the Nonaligned Movement and to the 20-year tradition of the movement's constructive activity in international relations.

Everything that has been said in New Delhi shows that several countris that advocate more than the customary, understandable and natural relationship between the movement and the blocs are clearly separating themselves within the Nonaligned Movement, although they are not separating themselves by their own will. The theories of natural alliance with one of the blocs and the efforts to move the movement closer to one of the bloc groups are turning into a fiasco here even though their protagonists blindly adhere to them. The united actions of an enormous majority of nonaligned countries in favor of strengthening the role and action of the movement on the basis of the original principles of association have isolated the advocates of deviation from the nonaligned road, probably leaving them to their deliberations on whether perhaps some of them entered the wrong door in the past, to a world which they wanted to enter.

The differences in views on specific problems that have appeared here, as it had been expected, can be an expression of national needs and they are accepted as such. But the manipulations and the attempts to present to the Nonaligned Movement its own original principles in the light of those torchbearers whose torches are far outside the movement, are unacceptable. This meeting best confirms that by what has been said at it.

POLITIKA VIEWS ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH FRG

AU121843 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 81 p 2

[B. Dikic report]

[Summary] Bonn, 8 Feb--Favorable tendencies are being noted in SFRY-FRG economic relations despite Yugoslavia's trade imbalance. The FRG still takes first place among our Western economic partners, while Yugoslavia continues to hold a high place among the buyers of German goods.

Intensive talks held on different levels between the two countries have contributed to a noticeable promotion of business cooperation recently. Long-term steps are being taken to gradually balance trade between the two countries and to expand conditions for even more fruitful and mutually useful economic, industrial and financial cooperation.

In 1980, our exports to the FRG increased 5 percent, while imports from the FRG were reduced 17 percent. Our economy exported goods worth DM2.31 billion and imported goods worth DM4.95 billion from the FRG. "Our trade deficit with the FRG, which in 1979 totalled nearly DM3.6 billion, was reduced to DM2.6 billion in 1980."

Yugoslavia's new agreement with the EEC has expanded the opportunities for the sale of Yugoslav goods to the FRG. Nonetheless, our businessmen expected better trade results with the FRG in 1980 than were achieved. One-third of Yugoslav exports to the EEC countries goes to the FRG and some 58 percent of our trade deficit with the EEC countries is with the FRG. In 1979, 16 percent of the total FRG trade surplus was realized in trade with Yugoslavia, while in 1980, 32 percent of the total FRG trade surplus was realized in trade with our country.

Yugoslavia's balance of payments with the FRG could be balanced solely through increased exports of our goods, through broader industrial cooperation and by means of larger German investments in our enterprises. However, stagnation in industrial cooperation has been noted recently. Past experience and practice demonstrate that our German partners had no disputes or difficulties in their industrial and financial cooperation with their Yugoslav partners and for this reason the restraint of certain German firms is unfounded.

A more noticeable confidence in the Yugoslav economy's vitality was expressed during the recent negotiations for an agreement between a consortium of German banks and the national bank of Yugoslavia on a German credit to Yugoslavia to be used for economic stabilization. An agreement on avoiding double taxation and another agreement on noncommercial risk guarantees on investments are still outstanding. The talks held in Bonn on these problems ended without results and further efforts and much good will will be necessary to settle the problems to mutual interest.

During his coming visit to the FRG, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, will have the opportunity to discuss all these problems with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, other German officials and businessmen. The talks are also being awaited with great attention in Bonn, where it was indicated that they will serve a far-reaching promotion of relations, particularly in the economic field.

POLISH BANKING DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN BELGRADE

LD122238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--A Polish banking delegation headed by Marian Minkiewicz, president of Bank Handlowy, paid a visit to the Associated Belgrade Bank today.

In talks conducted with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Associated Belgrade Bank, and his colleagues, particular attention was devoted to the results of successful business and financial cooperation to date, and also the opportunities for promoting and expanding these further.

COROVIC VIEWS GROWTH OF FARM 'WORKER' IN HUNGARY

AU122112 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 81 p 4

[Milos Corovic report]

[Summary] "Budapest, February--Are there any peasants in Hungary? Who actually is a peasant in our country?

"Such questions are posed not only by ordinary inquisitive persons whose views of the state of classes and social relations are based on daily, more or less superficial acquaintance with life and its changes, but also by studious examiners of the nature of the radical steps in the countryside and the results they have caused in the past two decades."

It is difficult to provide a precise answer, although the Hungarian Government is officially still called a "worker-peasant" government. Mass collectivization began between 1959 and 1962, but "something was created that in the course of time was transformed into a completely new quality." One can no longer talk about the peasantry of old nor even about "the unified socialist collectivized peasantry" as it was officially called for many years. "Instead of the peasantry something new is actually being generated and is arising: the agricultural worker with much more pronounced features of an authentic workers class than of the peasants."

In 20 years, about 1.5 million people left agriculture and about 1 million stayed. The work in the cooperatives and state farms is mechanized and divided on industrial principles. There are no longer any cooperative members doing general work.

"Thanks to a policy which did not transform the collectivized farms into kolkhozes according to the example of those of the Rakosi period or some alien ones, but left the agriculturists opportunities not only for work but also for earnings and through them for social assertion, a climate was created in society which began to undermine the present ranking order in the evaluation of occupations."

A man's value is no longer assessed by the size of his land holding, but by his skill in his job, his possession of other goods and other qualities, among which education is not a leading one.

The freedom the cooperatives are granted in planning, work incentives, electing leaders and the right to private plots have led to progress which increased the standard of living of the rural population relative to that of the urban population.

Now that cooperative agriculture has begun to yield encouraging results and peasants have been transformed into commodity producers, theoretical discussions on whether cooperative ownership is worth less than state ownership have begun to lose importance. "The discussions of this subject are not only losing importance but also uncovering something that may be considered a new phenomenon: that the management of cooperatives is more subject to the direct control of the producers and is therefore more socialized than the management of factories, which are treated as part of the highest form of socialist property.

"The cooperatives are regarded here as a specific form of self-management in which the influence of the producer members on the affairs of the collective is objectively greater than the influence which the workers have in state enterprises," and it is therefore increasingly thought that that efficiency of management cannot be measured exclusively by how much it adheres to a given scheme. Over 40 percent of people working in agricultural production have no personal experience of private land ownership and this fact "by itself convincingly shows the essentially changed picture of the countryside."

The distinction between the workers class and the peasants is gradually losing any meaning. In 1941, over 51 percent of the population in Hungary were engaged in agriculture, and the percentage has now been reduced to 13. The yields of all crops have been doubled or quadrupled. Therefore the migration of the population and the changes it brought "was not only socially necessary but also economically justified."

A recent poll among some peasants who 20 years ago were most reluctant to join a cooperative showed that now they would not want to leave and set up a private holding.

"This is to say that those who work and earn their living on the common land are well off, and those who no longer work but get a cooperative pension are also well off.

"In this way those who do not make a living in agriculture, but consume its produce, are well off, too."

DOLANC ADDRESSES SLOVENE SAWP ON WORLD PROBLEMS

AU102126 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has spoken on currently important international problems at the session of the Slovene Republican SAWP Conference Presidium. The Presidium also discussed a report on the work of the Republican Council for International Relations and adopted the social accord on the principles and criteria for vocational education programs and the proposal to increase the prices of Slovenia's daily newspapers from 6 to 8 dinars.

DOLANC SPEAKS ON PRICES, WORKERS' PROBLEMS

LD122315 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--Precongress activity is gradually moving into a stage of full intensity. In addition to organizations drawing up reports for the third congress of self-managers, other work collectives are increasingly joining in to public debate, but there is still too little activity in basic organizations of associated labor.

What is more, from some republics and provinces the warning is sounding that a predominant part of the congress activity is still being carried out by the trade unions, and that some organizations of associated labor still do not know how to conduct public debate properly. However, at today's session of the Secretariat of the Committee for Convocation and Preparation of the Congress, a very favorable assessment was made of the overall activity to date.

Stane Dolanc noted that a series of current problems are occupying the attention of working people. These are the issues usually discussed before and after the meeting, such as rising prices, supplies, the standard of living, investments and the like. The precongress debates must touch on these problems too, and upon their concrete solution. Reports at the congress must point out the great leap forward and progress which are features of our postwar development, but the mistakes which have been made must be spoken about frankly too. Dolanc touched on the problem of prices, stressing the need for each organization of associated labor to analyze the structure of prices of its own products, so that in future no decision on price increases should be made without the knowledge of the work collective, which is not the case at present. In this respect the question of authority at all levels should be posed. Where investments are concerned, there have been changes, but not radical ones. New investments are already appearing, and big ones, too. One must also see what can concretely be done to reduce administration, and also how small-scale economy can be promoted, for the strengthening of this could remove many problems in the employment sphere, in supply and in the service industry.

GRLICKOV ADDRESSES SAWPY FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVISTS

LD122350 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--In the Sava Center today a meeting was held of the foreign policy activists' group of the Section for International Cooperation and Relations with Foreign Countries of the SAWPY Federal Conference. Dr. Aleksandr Grlickov, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, spoke to the participants at the meeting about a number of topical issues and processes in the workers' and communist movement.

MIKULIC ADDRESSES OHRID PARTY, MARXIST CONFERENCE

LD122230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Text] Ohrid, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--Branko Mikulic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, arrived in Ohrid today. This morning in the committee of the municipal conference of the League of Communists, Branko Mikulic spoke about the activities of the more than 5,000 communists in realizing the tasks of stabilization.

This afternoon Branko Mikulic will speak to those taking part in a week of Marxist debates on the theme: "The League of Communists--The Internal Avant Garde and Creative Force of Socialist Self-Management and the Political System."

BILIC WARNS OF 'EXTREMIST' CROATIAN ORGANIZATIONS

LD122314 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Excerpts] The current economic difficulties which we are overcoming increasingly more successfully have not once brought into question a single gain of our socialist revolution, as some so-called theoreticians from outside and from domestic reactionary circles would maintain. This, among other things, was emphasized by Assembly President Jure Bilic, speaking to the Council of the Republic, which met under the chairmanship of Croatian Presidency President Jakov Blazevic in Zagreb today.

Judging that the political situation in Croatia is good, Jure Bilic acquainted the members of the Council of the Republic with some of the latest instances of enemy activity by extremist emigre organizations which are reviving the so-called Croatian question. They are joined in this by individuals from the fascist reactionary circles of the so-called Maspok [presumably refers to abbreviation for "Mass Movement"--Masovni Pokret] who will soon be tried for criminal acts against the people and the state. With the well-known political condemnation of those who signed the so-called petition of the Zagreb circle, Bilic also warned of some instances of enemy activity by Cominformists who are linked with Cosic and Djilas, and of phenomena within the clergy, part of which relies on the fascist policy of Stepinac, spreading news of the alleged inequality of Croatia within Yugoslavia. As well as unmasking all enemy forces, Jure Bilic emphasized, our message must be that for Croatia there is no alternative to self-management socialism in a Yugoslavia which is indestructible, equitable for all our nations and nationalities, fraternal and nonaligned.

CROATIAN PLENUM CALLS FOR EFFORTS IN STABILIZATION

AU101748 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 81 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Feb--The League of Communists of Croatia, together with all organized socialist forces, must intensify even more its activity in all circles, it must make even greater efforts to implement the measures and tasks of economic stabilization. The past results instill optimism that positive changes in the economy are possible if the agreed policy is implemented in a responsible manner.

This was stressed in the closing speech of Milka Planinc, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, at today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, which analyzed the activity of communists, their organizations and leaderships in implementing the conclusions of this party forum on realizing economic stabilization.

The Central Committee positively assessed the past activity of communists, but it noted that this activity was not the same everywhere, that it is still not understood that economic stabilization is a long-term task for us, that resistance still appears in some places, as well as attempts at resolving problems in an administrative manner, outside self-management and the working people.

Nonetheless, it is a positive fact that most members of the League of Communists and working people are imbued with the awareness that the sole path to overcome economic difficulties is through self-management and implementing our basic documents.

Emphasizing the obligation of communists to responsibly carry out their tasks, the Central Committee recalled once again that political orientations, particularly about economic relations with foreign countries; investments, the earning and distribution of income and about remuneration according to work and about the supply of the population must be transformed into specific activities and accords.

SERBIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ADOPTS DRAFT PLAN

AU121608 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Dusan Mitic report]

[Summary] At its session today the Serbian Executive Council adopted the republic's draft social plan for the 1981-85 period and the corresponding balances determining the republic's participation in priority investments and in the sociopolitical communities' budgets for social needs. Dusan Mitic reports:

The draft social plan and 12 draft accords on the foundations of the plan will be submitted to the republican Assembly for discussion and adoption. It is anticipated that the new medium-term plan will be adopted by the middle of the current year. All republican organs and organizations and 1,200 self-managing organizations have participated in preparing the plan during the past 2 years. The draft plan and accords consistently aim at strengthening the material basis of associated labor. That basis has been strengthened by about 2 percent in the last 2 years and the new draft plan provides for its further strengthening by 2 to 3 percent by the end of 1985 to ensure an essentially greater accumulation capability and self-financing ability of organizations of associated labor.

The draft balance on the republic's participation in priority investments in the 5-year period provides for spending 71 billion dinars for this purpose. It has become evident that it is difficult to renounce state interventions in the economy and, according to some views, the construction of some projects would be stopped without such intervention. The largest part of the republic's total spending for this purpose will be for the Smederevo iron and steel plant and a little less for the construction of hydroelectric and thermoelectric powerplants and for promoting the development of agriculture. The necessary funds will be also provided for construction of the Belgrade-Nis highway.

BELGRADE COMMITTEE REVIEWS CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS

AU121800 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 81

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report]

[Summary] At its session today the city committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade reviewed a report on complaints from the working people and citizens to the party organs and bodies and concluded that the problems raised by the complaints are now being solved more efficiently and responsibly than in the past. Zivojin Jerotijevic reports:

Last year the city party organs and bodies received over 1,700 complaints mostly from the communities in which the technobureaucratic forces have been strengthened and the work of the self-managing factors has been hindered and has become formalized as a result of insufficient effectiveness of the basic organizations of the League of Communists. "In his introductory report, Miodrag Lazarevic, member of the city committee, noted that pronounced efforts and even pressures have been made recently to solve problems on the basis of the party line, allegedly for the sake of greater effectiveness, a stronger principled approach and greater responsibility. During the discussion at the meeting these efforts were characterized as unacceptable."

The largest number of complaints deal with the problems of development of self-managing relations, calling attention to such phenomena as those of manipulating the working people and self-managing organs, imposing ready-made decisions and protracting the adoption of decisions and normative acts. The complaints are especially harsh in criticizing irregularities in the distribution of incomes and personal incomes, inefficient and slow housing construction and distribution and the lack of activity of the self-managing workers' control as a result of its ties to the managing organs. They also criticize the work of communal and city administration organs, the city planning institute, the self-managing interest communities for housing and the communal services because of their lack of responsibility and their slowness. It is pointed out that citizens are often helpless in face of their "bureaucratic attitudes, subjectivism and arbitrariness."

As to some party problems, the complaints "insist on stricter implementation of the principle of democratic centralism and demand further assertion of the moral image of the communists." According to the city committee, "the working people and citizens are very sensitive to all occurrences of unlawfulness and violation of self-managing rights in the climate created by an increasingly highly developed self-managing life and the democratic discussions and actions of the League of Communists in connection with stabilization problems."